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RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THE HINDUS

RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THE HINDUS

By

H. H. WILSON

Edited by Ernst R. Rost



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is a reprint with minor alterations here and there of the author's *A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* which appeared in 1862 in the Vol. I of works of H. H. Wilson, published by Trubner & Co., London. This essay was first published in two parts in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI 1828 and Vol. XVII, 1832.

These articles were reprinted by the Bishop's College Press in 1846. Ernst Reinhold Rost (1882-1896) collected and edited these papers for the Trubner's two-volume edition of Wilson's *Essays and Lectures*, chiefly on the religion of the Hindus.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

Born Sep. 26, 1786: educated in Soho Square, London, and at St. Thomas's Hospital: arrived in Calcutta in 1808, in the medical service of the E.I.Co.: was at once attached to the Mint at Calcutta, for his knowledge of chemistry and assay: was Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1811-33, with short intervals. He studied Sanskrit steadily and translated the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa in 1813. In 1816 he was appointed Assay-master of the Calcutta mint, and he held the appointment until he left India in 1832. He published the *Theatre of the Hindus* and *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (two editions), besides contributing to *Asiatic Researches*, the Journals of the Asiatic, Medical and Physical Societies, and other Oriental Literature. He wrote an Historical Account of the Burmese War: catalogued Col. Colin Mackenzie's MSS: was Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, introducing the study of European Science and English Literature into native education: and was visitor to the Sanskrit College. He became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1833, Hon. M.A. at Exeter College; Librarian of the India House in 1836, Examiner at Haileybury, and Director, of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1837 till his death: F.R.S., 1834. He continued his labours on Indian subjects, publishing the *Vishnu Purana*; *Lectures on the Religious and Philosophical Systems of the Hindus*, 1840; a Sanskrit grammar; the *Ariana Antiqua*; a new edition of Mill's *History of British-India*; a translation of *Rig-Veda*; a Glossary of Indian Terms, and an edition of Macnaghten's *Hindu Law*: the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his time, combining a variety of attainments as general linguist, historian, chemist, accountant, numismatist, actor and musician: died May 8, 1860.

PREFACE

In the year 1813 Horace Hayman Wilson, then Assistant Surgeon in the service of the East India Company, published his translation of the *Meghaduta*, the first fruits of his literary labours in the mine of Sanskrit Literature. During the nineteen following years, while engaged in various official capacities, chiefly at Calcutta and Banaras, and from the time of his return to England in 1832 till his death (on the 8th of May 1860) he continued to pursue his studies and researches on the literature, history, antiquities and religious systems of the Hindus with indefatigable industry. Ever zealously availing himself of the opportunities which were afforded him by his long residence in India and subsequently by his easy access to the rich stores of Manuscripts, accumulated both at the East India House and the Bodleian Library, for extending, deepening, and consolidating his investigations in Indian lore, he produced a large number of works of various extent, which for usefulness, depth of learning, and wide range of research show him to have been the worthy successor of Sir W. JONES and H. T. COLEBROOKE. The just appreciation of his merits, contained in the sketches of his life, character and labours, in the *Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1860*, and in the "Rapport" of the Societe Asiatique for the same year, re-echoes but the meed of admiration and gratitude with which every student of Sanskrit acknowledges the obligations he owes to WILSON's works. Many of these however, ranging as they do over a period of nearly half a century, were originally published in periodicals and transactions of oriental Societies not generally accessible, or have otherwise become scarce, while they still are the standard, and in some instances the only, authority on the various topics of which they treat...

The first portion of *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, appeared in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1828, and the second in the volume for 1832.

On account of the variety of manuscript sources in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali and different dialects of Hindi, from which the author gleaned the materials for his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, thorough consistency and uniformity in the transliteration of Indian names would have been beyond what could be expected by anyone ever so slightly acquainted with the various graphical, and still more phonetical, changes to which Sanskrit words are liable when passing into the vernacular idioms of modern India. No improvement in this respect was aimed at in the reprint of this work which appeared at Calcutta in the year

1846 (pp. 238 in 8^{vo}), and in which even the most obvious misprint of the original edition have been reproduced with scrupulous fidelity. Some care has, therefore, been bestowed in the present edition upon introducing such accuracy in the spelling of Indian words, both ancient and modern, as shall enable the student to trace without difficulty their original forms. In cases of slight, but unavoidable discrepancies, occasioned, it is feared, in not a few instances by the want of ready communication between the editor and the printer, the reader is referred to the Index. However desirable, too, it would have been to verify the many quotations contained in the Notes, this has been found practicable only so far as some access to the printed literature of India enabled the editor to trace them. With regard to those of them which he has failed to verify he must plead as his excuse that he undertook and carried on the work of editing with but little time to spare from his other avocations. The verifications which he has succeeded in tracing, and the references and few other additions he has thought necessary to make, are enclosed in brackets []; and he hopes that the volume may not be the less welcome both to the student of Hindu literature and antiquities, and to everyone to whom the improvement of the religious condition of the Hindus is at heart.

Reinhold Rost

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CORRECTIONS

- Page 27 Folio Heading, for *Hixdus* read *Hindus*.
 „ 69 Para 2, line 2, for *his juvenile forms* read *his more juvenile forms*.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

The Hindu religion is a term, that has been hitherto employed in a collective sense, to designate a faith and worship of an almost endlessly diversified description : to trace some of its varieties is the object of the present enquiry.

An early division of the Hindu system, and one conformable to the genius of all Polytheism, separated the practical and popular belief, from the speculative or philosophical doctrines. Whilst the common people addressed their hopes and fears to stocks and stones, and multiplied by their credulity and superstition the grotesque objects of their veneration, some few, of deeper thought and wider contemplation, plunged into the mysteries of man and nature, and endeavoured assiduously, if not successfully, to obtain just notions of the cause, the character and consequence of existence. This distinction prevails even in the Vedas, which have their Karma Kanda and Jnana Kanda, or Ritual and Theology.

The worship of the populace being addressed to different divinities, the followers of the several gods naturally separated into different associations, and the adorers of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva or other phantoms of their faith, became distinct and insulated bodies, in the general aggregate : the conflict of opinion on subjects, on which human reason has never yet agreed, led to similar differences in the philosophical class, and resolved itself into the several Darsanas or schools of philosophy.

It may be supposed, that some time elapsed before the practical worship of any deity was more than a simple preference, or involved the assertion of the supremacy of the object of its adoration, to the degradation or exclusion of the other gods¹ : in like manner also, the conflicting opinions were matters rather of curiosity than faith, and were neither regarded as subversive of each other, nor as incompatible with the public worship : and hence, notwithstanding the sources of difference that existed in the parts, the unity of the whole remained undisturbed : in this condition, indeed, the apparent mass of the Brahmanical order at least, still continues : professing alike to

¹ One division of some antiquity is the preferential appropriation of the four chief divinities to the four original castes; thus Siva is the Adideva of the Brahmans, Vishnu of the Kshattriyas, Brahma of the Vaisyas, and Ganesa of the Sudras.

recognise implicitly the authority of the Vedas, the worshippers of Siva, or of Vishnu, and the maintainers of the Sankhya or Nyaya doctrines, consider themselves, and even each other, as orthodox members of the Hindu community.

To the internal incongruities of the system, which did not affect its integral existence, others were, in time, superadded, that threatened to dissolve or destroy the whole : of this nature was the exclusive adoration of the old deities, or of new forms of them ; and even it may be presumed, the introduction of new divinities. In all these respects, the Puranas and Tantras were especially instrumental, and they not only taught their followers to assert the unapproachable superiority of the gods they worshipped, but inspired them with feelings² of animosity towards those who presumed to dispute that supremacy : in this conflict the worship of Brahma has disappeared³, as well as, indeed, that of the whole pantheon, except Vishnu, Siva and Sakti, or their modifications ; with respect to the two former, in fact, the representatives have borne away the palm from the prototypes, and Krishna, Rama, or the Linga, are almost the only forms under which Vishnu and Siva are now adored in most parts of India⁴.

2 Thus in the Bhagavat: "Those who profess the worship of Bhava, (Siva,) and those who follow their doctrines, are heretics and enemies of the sacred *Shastras*. Again: "Those desirous of final emancipation, abandoning the hideous gods of the devils, pursue their devotions, calm, blameless, and being parts of Narayana.

The *Padma Purana* is more personal towards Vishnu: "From even looking at Vishnu, the wrath of Siva is kindled, and from his wrath, we fall assuredly into a horrible hell; let not, therefore, the name of Vishnu ever be pronounced."

The same work is, however, cited by the Vaishnavas, for a very opposite doctrine. "He who abandons Vasudeva and worships any other god, is like the fool, who being thirsty, sinks a well in the bank of the Ganges."

The principle goes still further, and those who are inimical to the followers of a Deity, are stigmatised as his personal foes—thus in the *Adi Purana*, Vishnu says:

"He to whom my votary is a friend, is my friend—he who is opposed to him, is no friend of mine—be assured, Dhananjaya, of this."

3 Siva himself, in the form of Kala Bhairava, tore off Brahma's fifth head, for presuming to say, that he was Brahma, the eternal and omnipotent cause of the world, and even the creator of Siva, notwithstanding the four Vedas and the personified Omkara, had all given evidence, that this great, true and indescribable deity was Siva himself. The whole story occurs in the *Kasi Khand* [c. 31] of the *Skanda Purana*, and its real signification is sufficiently obvious.

4 The great text-books of the Vaishnavas is the *Bhagavat*, with which it may be supposed the present worship, in a great measure,

The varieties of opinion kept pace with those of practice, and six heretical schools of philosophy disputed the pre-eminence with their orthodox brethren : we have little or no knowledge of these systems, and even their names are not satisfactorily stated : they seem, however, to be the Saugata or Buddhist, Arhata, or Jaina and Varhaspatya, or Atheistical, with their several subdivisions⁵.

Had the difference of doctrine taught in the heretical schools been confined to tenets of a merely speculative nature, they would, probably, have encountered little opposition, and excited little enmity among the Brahmical class, of which latitude of opinion is a very common characteristic. The founder of the Atheistical school, however, Vrihaspati, attacks both the Vedas and the Brahmans, and asserts that the whole of the Hindu system is a contrivance of the Priesthood, to secure a means of livelihood for themselves⁶, whilst the Buddhists and Jainas, equally disregarding the Vedas and the Brahmans, the practice and opinions of the Hindus, invented a set of gods for themselves, and deposed the ancient pantheon : these aggressions provoked resentment : the writings of these sects are alluded to with every epithet of anger and contempt, and they are all anathematised as heretical and atheistical : more active measures than anathemas, it may be presumed, were had recourse to : the followers of Vrihaspati, having no worship at all, easily eluded

originated, although the Mahabharat and other older works had previously introduced this divinity. The worship of the Linga is, no doubt, very ancient, although it has received, within a few centuries, its present degree of popularity: the Kasi Khand was evidently written to enforce it, and at Benares, its worship entirely overshadows every other ritual.

5 In a work written by the celebrated Madhava, describing the different sects as they existed in his day, entitled the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, the Varhaspatyas, Lokayatas, and Charvakas are identified, and are really advocates of an atheistical doctrine, denying the existence of a God, or a future state, and referring creation to the aggregation of but four elements. The Buddhists, according to the same authority, admit of four subdivisions, the Madhyamikas, Yogacharas, Sautrantikas and Vaibhashikas. The Jains or Arhats, as still one of the popular divisions, we shall have occasion to notice in the text.

6 Vrihaspati has the following texts to this effect, quoted in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, Calcutta edition, pp. 3 and 6, and with a v. I. *Prabodhach.* ed. Brockhaus, p. 30: "The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the Tridanda, the smearing of ashes, are only the livelihood of those who have neither intellect nor spirit." After ridiculing the Sraddha, shrewdly enough, he says: Hence it is evident, that it was a mere contrivance of the Brahmans to gain a livelihood, to ordain such ceremonies for the dead, and no other reason can be given for them.

Of the Vedas, he says—The three Authors of the Vedas were Buffoons, Rogues, and Fiends—and cites texts in proof of this assertion.

the storm, but the Buddhists of Hindusthan were annihilated by its fury, and the Jainas apparently evaded it with difficulty, although they have undoubtedly survived its terrors, and may now defy its force.

The varieties thus arising from innovations in practice and belief, have differed, it may be concluded, at different eras of the Hindu worship. To trace the character of those which have latterly disappeared, or to investigate the remote history of some which still remain and are apparently of ancient date, are tasks for which we are far from being yet prepared : the enquiry is, in itself so vast, and so little progress has been made in the studies necessary to its elucidation, that it must yet remain in the obscurity in which it has hitherto been enveloped ; so ambitious a project as that of piercing the impenetrable gloom has not instigated the present attempt, nor has it been proposed to undertake so arduous a labour, as in the investigation and comparison of the abstruse notions of the philosophical sects⁷. The humbler aim of these researches has been that of ascertaining the actual condition of the popular religion of the inhabitants of some of the provinces subject to the Bengal Government ; and as a very great variety prevails in that religion, the subject may be considered as not devoid of curiosity and interest, especially as it has been left little better than a blank, in the voluminous compositions or compilations, professing to give an account of the native country of the Hindus.

The description of the different sects of the Hindus, which I propose to offer, is necessarily superficial : it would, indeed, have been impossible to have³ adopted the only unexceptionable method of acquiring an accurate knowledge of their tenets and observances, or of studying the numerous works in Sanskrit, Persian, or the provincial dialects of Hindi, on which they are founded. I have been obliged to content myself, therefore, with a cursory inspection of a few of those compositions, and to depend for much of my information on oral report, filling up or correcting from these two sources the errors and omissions of two works, on this subject professedly, from which I have derived the groundwork of the whole account.

The works alluded to are in the Persian language, though both were written by Hindu authors ; the first was compiled by Sital Sinh, Munshi to the Raja of Banaras ; the second by Mathura Nath, a librarian of the Hindu College, at the same city, a man of great personal respectability and eminent

⁷ Something of this has been very well done by Ward, in his account of the Hindus: and since this Essay was read before the Society, the account given by H. T. Colebrooke, in the first part of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, of the Sankhya and Nyaya Systems, has left little more necessary on this subject.

acquirements : these works contain a short history of the origin of the various sects, and descriptions of the appearance, and observances, and present condition of their followers : they comprise all the known varieties, with one or two exceptions, and, indeed, at no one place in India could the enquiry be so well prosecuted as at Banaras⁸. The work of Mathura Nath is the fullest and most satisfactory, though it leaves much to be desired, and much more than I have been able to supply. In addition to these sources of information, I have had frequent recourse to a work of great popularity and extensive circulation, which embodies the legendary history of all the most celebrated Bhaktas or devotees of the Vaishnava order. This work is entitled the *Bhakta Malâ*. The original, in a difficult dialect of Hindi, was composed by Nabhaji, about 250 years ago⁹, and is little more than a catalogue, with brief and obscure references to some leading circumstances connected with the life of each individual, and from the inexplicit nature of its allusions, as well as the difficulty of its style, is far from intelligible to the generality even of the natives. The work, in its present form, has received some modifications, and obvious additions from a later teacher, Narayan Das, whose share in the composition is, no doubt, considerable but cannot be discriminated from Nabhaji's own, beyond the evidence furnished by the specification of persons unquestionably subsequent to his time. Narayan Das probably wrote in the reign of Shah Jehan. The brevity and obscurity of the original work pervade the additional matter, and to remedy these defects, the original text, or Mula, has been taken as a guide for an amplified notice of its subjects, or the Tika of Krishna Das ; and the work, as usually met with, always consists of these two divisions. The Tika is dated Samvat, 1769 or A. D. 1713. Besides these, a translation of the Tika, or a version of it in the more ordinary dialect of Hindusthan, has been made by an anonymous author, and a copy of this work, as well as of the original, has furnished me with materials for the following account. The character of the *Bhakta Mala* will best appear from the extracts of translations from it to be hereafter introduced : it may be sufficient here to observe, that it is much less of a historical than legendary description...

⁸ The acknowledged resort of all the vagabonds of India, and all who have nowhere else to repair to: so, the *Kasi Khand*: "To those who are strangers to the Sruti and Smriti (Religion and Law); to those who have never known the observance of pure and indispensable rites; to those who have no other place to repair to; to those, is Benares an asylum." [Compare *Prabodhach.* ed. Brockhaus, p. 19.]

⁹ *Journ. As. Soc. Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

STATE OF THE HINDU RELIGION, ANTERIOR TO ITS PRESENT CONDITION

Although I have neither the purpose nor the power to enter into any detail of the remote condition of the Hindu faith, yet as its present state is of comparatively very recent origin, it may form a not unnecessary, nor uninteresting preliminary branch of the enquiry, to endeavour to determine its existing modifications, at the period immediately preceding the few centuries, which have sufficed to bestow upon it its actual form : it happens, also, that some controversial works exist, which throw considerable light upon the subject, and of which the proximity of their date, to the matters of which they treat, may be conjectured with probability or positively ascertained. Of these, the two principal works, and from which I shall derive such scanty information as is attainable, are the *Sankara Digvijaya* of Ananda Giri, and the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of Madhavacharya, the former a reputed disciple of Sankara himself, and the latter a well known and able writer, who lived in the commencement of the 14th century.

The authenticity of the latter of these two works, there is no room to question ; and there is but little reason to attach any doubt to the former. Some of the marvels it records of Sankara, which the author professes to have seen, may be thought to affect its credibility, if not its authenticity, and either Ananda Giri must be an unblushing liar, or the book is not his own : it is, however, of little consequence, as even, if the work be not that of Ananda Giri himself, it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period, not far removed from that at which he may be supposed to have flourished, and we may, therefore, follow it as a very safe guide, in our enquiries into the actual state of the Hindu Religion about eight or nine centuries ago.

The various sectaries of the Hindu Religion then existing, are all introduced to be combated, and, of course, conquered, by Sankara : the list is rather a long one, but it will be necessary to go through the whole, to ascertain the character of the national faith of those days, and its present modifications, noticing, as we proceed, some of the points of difference or resemblance between the forms of worship which then prevailed, and which now exist. The two great divisions of Vaishnavas and Saivas were both in a flourishing condition, and each embraced six principal subdivisions : we shall begin with the

former, who are termed Bhaktas, Bhagavatas, Vaishnavas, Chakrinās, or Pancharatrakas, Vaikhanasas and Karmahinas.

But as each of these was subdivided into a practical and speculative, or Karma and Jnana portion, they formed, in fact, twelve classes of the followers of Vishnu, as the sole and supreme deity.

The Bhaktas worshipped Vishnu as Vasudeva, and wore no characteristic marks. The Bhagavatas worshipped the same deity as Bhagavat, and impressed upon their persons the usual Vaishnava insignia, representing the discus, club, &c. of that divinity ; they likewise revered the Salagram stone, and Tulasi plant, and in several of their doctrinal notions, as well as in these respects, approach to the present followers of Ramanuja, although they cannot be regarded as exactly the same. The authorities of these three sects were the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad Gita*. The names of both the sects still remain, but they are scarcely applicable to any particular class of Vaishnavas : the terms Bhakta, or Bhagat, usually indicate any individual who pretends to a more rigid devotion than his neighbours, and who especially occupies his mind with spiritual considerations : the Bhagavat is one who follows particularly the authority of the *Sri-Bhagavat Purana*.

The Vaishnavas adored Vishnu as Narayana, they wore the usual marks, and promised themselves a sort of sensual paradise after death, in Vaikuntha, or Vishnu's heaven ; their tenets are still current, but they can scarcely be considered to belong to any separate sect.

The Chakrinās, or Pancharatrakas were, in fact, Saktas of the Vaishnava class, worshipping the female personifications of Vishnu, and observing the ritual of the *Pancharatra Tantra* : they still remain, but scarcely individualised, being confounded with the worshippers of Krishna and Rama on the one hand, and those of Sakti or Devi on the other.

The Vaikhanasas appear to have been but little different from the Vaishnavas especially so called ; at least Ananda Giri has not particularised the difference ; they worshipped Narayana as supreme god, and wore his marks. The Karmahinas abstained, as the name implies, from all ritual observances, and professed to know Vishnu as the sole source and sum of the universe, they can scarcely be considered as an existent sect, though a few individuals of the Ramanujya and Ramanandi Vaishnavas may profess the leading doctrines.

The Vaishnava forms of the Hindu faith are still, as we shall hereafter see, sufficiently numerous ; but we can scarcely identify any one of them with those which seem to have prevailed when the *Sankara Vijaya* of Ananda Giri was composed. The great

divisions, of Ramanuja and Ramanand—the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe, that neither in this, nor in any other portion of the *Sankara Vijaya*, is any allusion made to the separate worship of Krishna, either in his own person, or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so pre-eminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of Rama and Sita, of Lakhmana or Hanuman, once particularised, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration.

The Saiva sects are the Saivas, Raudras, Ugras, Bhaktas, Jangamas, and Pasupatas. Their tenets are so blended in the discussion, that it is not possible to separate them, beyond the conjectural discrimination which may be derived from their appellations: the text specifies merely their characteristic marks: thus the Saivas wore the impression of the Linga on both arms; the Raudras had a Trisula, or trident, stamped on the forehead; the Ugras had the Damaru, or drum of Siva on their arms, and the Bhaktas an impression of the Linga on the forehead—the Jangamas carried a figure of the Linga on the head, and the Pasupatas imprinted the same object on the forehead, breast, navel, and arms. Of these sects, the Saivas are not now any one particular class—nor are the Raudras, Ugras, or Bhaktas, any longer distinct societies: the Jangamas remain, but they are chiefly confined to the south of India, and although a Pasupata, or worshipper of Siva as Pasupati, may be occasionally encountered, yet this has merged into other sects, and particularly into that of the Kanphata Yogis: the authorities cited by these sects, according to Ananda Giri, were the *Siva Gita*, *Siva Sanhita*, *Siva Rahasya* and *Rudra Yamala Tantra*: the various classes of Yogis are never alluded to, and the work asserts, what is generally admitted as a fact, that the Dandis, and Dasnam Gosains originated with Sankara Acharya.

Worshippers of Brahma, or Hiranyagarbha, are also introduced by Ananda Giri, whom now it might be difficult to meet with: exclusive adorers of this deity, and temples dedicated to him, do not now occur perhaps in any part of India; at the same time it is an error to suppose that public homage is never paid to him. Brahma is particularly revered at Pokher in Ajmir, also at Bithur, in the Doab, where, at the principal Ghat, denominated Brahnavartta Ghat, he is said to have offered an Aswamedha on completing the act of creation: the pin of his slipper left behind him on the occasion, and now fixed in one of the steps of the Ghat, is still worshipped there, and on the full moon of Agrahayana (November-December) a very numerous attended Mela, or fair, that mixes piety with profit, is annually held at that place.

The worshippers of Agni no longer form a distinct class, a

few Agnihotra Brahmans, who preserve the family fire, may be met with, but in all other respects they conform to some mode of popular devotion.

The next opponents of Sankara Acharya were the Sauras, or worshippers of the sun, as the creator and cause of the world : a few Sauras, chiefly Brahmans, still exist as a sect, as will be hereafter noticed ; but the divisions enumerated by Ananda Giri, are now, it is believed, unknown : he distinguishes them into the following six classes.

Those who adored the rising sun, regarding it as especially the type of Brahma, or the creative power ; Those who worshipped the meridian sun as Iswara, the destructive and regenerative faculty ; and those who revered the setting sun, as the prototype of Vishnu, or the attribute of preservation.

The fourth class comprehended the advocates of the Trimurti, who addressed their devotions to the sun in all the preceding states, as the comprehensive type of these three divine attributes.

The object of the fifth form is not quite clearly stated, but it appears to have been the adoration of the sun as a positive and material body, and the marks on his surface, as his hair, beard, &c. The members of this class so far correspond with the Sauras of the present day, as to refrain from food until they had seen the sun.

The sixth class of Sauras, in opposition to the preceding, deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun : they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered : they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons ; a practice uniformly condemned by Sankara, as contrary to the laws of the Vedas, and the respect due to Brahmanical flesh and blood.

Ganesa, as well as Surya, had formerly six classes of adorers ; in the present day he cannot boast of any exclusive worship, although he shares a sort of homage with almost all the other divinities : his followers were the worshippers of Maha Ganapati, of Haridra Ganapati, or Dhundi Raj, who is still a popular form of Ganesa, of Uchchhishtha Ganpati, of Navanita Ganapati, of Swarna Ganapati, and of Santana Ganapati. The left hand sub-division of the Uchchhishtha Ganapati sect, also called Hairamba, abrogated all obligatory ritual and distinction of caste.

The adorers of the female personifications of divine power, appear to have been fully as numerous as at present, and to have worshipped the same objects, or Bhavani, Maha Lakshmi, and Saraswati : even as personifications of these divinities,

however, the worship of Sita and Radha, either singly, or in conjunction with Rama and Krishna, never makes its appearance. The worshippers of Sakti were then, as now, divided into two classes, a right and left hand order, and three subdivisions of the latter are enumerated, who are still well known—the Purnabhishiktas, Akritarthas, Kritakityasamas.

There can be little doubt, that the course of time and the presence of foreign rulers, have very much ameliorated the character of much of the Hindu worship : if the.... practices of the Saktas are still as prevalent as ever, which may well be questioned, they are, at least, carefully concealed from observation, and if they are not exploded, there are other observances of a more ferocious description, which seem to have disappeared. The worship of Bhairava still prevails amongst the Saktas and the Yogis ; but in upper India, at least, the naked mendicant, smeared with funeral ashes, armed with a trident or a sword, carrying a hollow skull in his hand, and half intoxicated with the spirits which he has quaffed from that disgusting wine-cup, prepared, in short, to perpetrate any act of violence and crime, the Kapalika of former days, is now rarely, if ever, encountered. In the work of Ananda Giri, we have two of these sectaries introduced, one a Brahman by birth, is the genuine Kapalika : he drinks wine, eats flesh, and abandons all rites and observances in the spirit of his faith, his eminence in which has armed him with supernatural powers, and rendered Bhairava himself the reluctant, but helpless minister of his will. The other Kapalika is an impostor, the son of a harlot, by a gatherer of Tadi, or Palm juice, and who has adopted the character as an excuse for throwing off all social and moral restraint. The Kapalikas are often alluded to in controversial works, that appear to be the compositions of a period at least preceding the tenth century¹.

The next classes of sectaries, confuted by Sankara, were various infidel sects, some of whom avowedly, and perhaps all covertly, are still in being : the list is also interesting, as discriminating opinions which, in the ignorance subsequent to their disappearance from Hindusthan, have very commonly been, and, indeed, still are frequently confounded. These are the Charvakas, or Sunya Vadis, the Saugatatas, the Kshapanakas, the Jinas, and the Buddhists.

The Charvakas were so named from one of their teachers, the Muni Charvaka. From Vrihaspati—some of whose dogmas have been quoted from the work of Madhava, they are termed also Varhaspatyas. The appellation Sunya Vadi implies the asserter of the unreality and emptiness of the universe, and

¹ See the *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, translated by Taylor (especially Act. III, Sc. 8 and ff.).

another designation, Lokayata, expresses their adoption of the tenet, that this being is the Be-all of existence : they were, in short, the advocates of materialism and atheism, and have existed from a very remote period, and still exist, as we shall hereafter see.

The Saugatas are identified even by Madhava with Buddhists, but there seems to have been some, although probably not any very essential difference : the chief tenet of this class, according to Ananda Giri, was their adopting the doctrine taught by Sugata Muni, that tenderness towards animated nature comprehends all moral and devotional duty, a tenet which is, in a great measure, common to both the Buddhist and Jaina schisms : it is to be feared, that the personal description of the Saugata, as a man of a fat body and small head, although possibly intended to characterise the genus, will not direct us to the discovery of its origin or history. The Kshapanaka again has always been described by Hindu writers as a Buddhist, or sometimes even a Jaina naked mendicant : in the work before us he appears as the professor of a sort of astrological religion, in which² time is the principal divinity, and he is described as carrying, in either hand, the implements of his science, or a Gola Yantra, and Turya Yantra, the former of which is an armillary sphere, and the latter a kind of quadrant, apparently for ascertaining time³ ; from the geographical controversy that occurs between him and Sankara, it appears that he entertains the doctrine regarding the descent of earth in space, which is attributed by the old astronomers to the Buddhists, and controverted by the author of the *Surya Siddhanta*⁴, and subsequently by Bhaskara : the former is quoted by Sankara, according to our author. These doctrines, the commentators on Bhaskara's work and even he, himself, commenting on his own text, say, belong to the Jainas, not to the Buddhists ; but, possibly, the correction is itself an error, it does not appear that the Kshapanaka of Ananda Giri argues the existence of a double set of planetary bodies, which is, undoubtedly, a Jaina doctrine⁵, and the descent of the earth in space may have been common to all these sects.

The Jainas that existed in the time of Ananda Giri appear as Digambaras only ; he does not notice their division into

² Time is the Supreme Deity. Iswara cannot urge on the present. He who knows time knows Brahma. Space and time are not distinct from God.

³ The Turya Yantra is the fourth part of an orb.

"Fixing above it two pins, and looking between them, the time is ascertained by science."

⁴ At least implicitly in the sloka XII: 32. *Asiatic Researches* XII: 229.

⁵ *Asiatic Researches*, IX: 321.

Digambaras and Svetambaras, as they at present are found, and existed indeed prior to the age of Madhava. The Buddhists are introduced personally, although it may be questioned whether they were very numerous in India in so comparatively modern a period : according to Ananda Giri, a persecution of this sect, and of the Jainas, took place in one part of the peninsula, the state of Rudrapur, during Sankara's life time, but he, as well as Madhava⁶, excludes Sankara from being at all concerned in it. He ascribes its occurrence to the same source, the instigation of a Bhatta, from the north, or, in fact, of Kumarila Bhatta, a Bengali or Maithili Brahman.

A long series of sectaries then ensues, of a more orthodox description, and who only err in claiming primeval and pre-eminent honours for the objects of their adoration—none of these are to be found ; and, although, to a certain extent, the places of some of them may be supplied by the local deities of the villagers, and by the admission of others to a participation in the worship paid to the presiding deities of each sect, yet there can be little doubt, that a large portion of the Hindu pantheon formerly enjoyed honours, which have for some centuries past been withheld. In this predicament are Indra, Kuvera, Yama, Varuna, Garuda, Sessa, and Soma, all of whom, in the golden age of Hindu idolatry, had, no doubt, temples and adorers : the light and attractive service of the god of love, indeed, appears to have been formerly very popular, as his temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the⁷ tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity : it is a feature that singularly characterises the present state of the Hindu religion, that if in some instances it is less ferocious, in others it has ceased to address itself to the amiable propensities of the human character, or the spontaneous and comparatively innocent feelings of youthful natures.

Besides the adorers of the secondary divinities, we have a variety of sects who direct their devotions to beings of a still lower rank, and of whom none, at present, exist as distinct bodies, although individuals may be found, either detached or comprehended in other classes, who, more or less, reverence similar objects. Thus, the worship of Akasa⁸, or Ether, as the supreme deity, is still occasionally met with : all classes pay daily homage to the Pitris or Manes, and a few of the Tantrikas worship the Siddhas, or Genii, in the hope of acquiring super-human powers : the same class furnishes occasional votaries of the Vasus, Yakshas, and Gandharvas, and even of the Vetalas

⁶ Preface to Wilson's *Sanskrit and English Dictionary*.

⁷ In the *Vrihat Katha*, *Dasa Kumara*, *Malati Madhava*, *Mrichchhakati*, &c.

⁸ I have encountered but one Professor, however, of the faith, a miserable mendicant, who taught the worship of Ether, under the strange name of Baghela.

and Bhutas, or goblins and ghosts, and the latter also receive still, from the fears of the villagers, propitiatory adoration. It does not appear, that in any form, the worship of the moon and stars, of the elements, and divisions of the universe, is still practised, although that of the Tirthas, or holy places and rivers, is as popular as ever.

We have thus completed the enumeration of the sects as described by the author of the *Sankara Vijaya*, and have had an opportunity of observing, that, although the outlines of the system remain the same, the details have undergone very important alterations, since the time at which this work was composed: the rise of most of the existing modifications, we can trace satisfactorily enough, as will hereafter appear, and it is not improbable, that the disappearance of many of those, which no longer take a part in the idolatry of the Hindus, may be attributed to the exertions of Sankara and his disciples: his object, as appears from the work we have hitherto followed, was by no means the suppression of acts of outward devotion, nor of the preferential worship of any acknowledged and pre-eminent deity: his leading tenet is the recognition of Brahma Para Brahma⁹, as the sole cause and supreme ruler of the universe, and as distinct from Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, or any individual member of the pantheon: with this admission, and in regard to the weakness of those human faculties, which cannot elevate themselves to the conception of the inscrutable first cause, the observance of such rites, and the worship of such deities, as are either prescribed by the Vedas, or the works not incompatible with their authority, were left undisturbed by this teacher¹⁰; they even received, to a certain extent, his particular sanction, and the following divisions of the Hindu faith were, by his express permission, taught by some of his disciples, and are, consequently, regarded by the learned Brahmans in general, as the only orthodox and allowable forms in the present day¹¹. The Saiva faith was instituted by Paramata Kalanala, who is described as teaching at Banaras, and assuming the insignia that charac-

⁹ As in these texts of the Vedas *sadeva saumyedadagra asit. and atma va idameka evagra asit.* [quoted by Sankara: in his *Brahmasutrabhashya*, Calcutta, 1854, p. 54. See also *Bṛihad Arany. Upanishad*, I, 4, 1. p. 125.]

¹⁰ "Ordinances founded on the Tantras, the Puranas, or historical record, are admissible if accordant with the Vedas; they must be rejected if repugnant."

¹¹ "In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted by iniquity, men are inadequate to the apprehension of pure unity; they will be apt, therefore, again to follow the dictates of their own fancies, and it is necessary for the preservation of the world, and the maintenance of civil and religious distinctions, to acknowledge those modifications of the divine spirit which are the work of the Supreme. These reflexions having occurred to Sankara, he addressed his disciple, &c."

terise the Dandis of modern times. The Vaishnava worship was taught at Kanchi, or Conjeveram, by Lakshmana Acharya and Hastamalaka ; and the latter seems to have introduced a modified adoration of Vishnu, in the character of Krishna. The Saura sect was continued under the auspices of Divakara, Brahmachari, and the Sakta, under those of the Sannyasi, Tripurakumara : the Ganapatya were allowed to remain under the presidency of Girijaputra, and from such persons as had not adopted either of the preceding systems, Batukanath, the professor of the Kapalika, or Bhairava worship, was permitted to attract followers : all these teachers were converts and disciples of Sankara, and returned to his superintending guidance, when they had effected the objects of their missions.

The notice that occurs in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of any of the sects which have yet been mentioned, has been already incidentally adverted to : this work is less of a popular form than the preceding, and controverts the speculative rather than the practical doctrines of other schools : besides the atheistical Buddhist and Jaina sects, the work is occupied chiefly with the refutation of the followers of Jaimini, Gautma, and Patanjali, and we have no classes of worshippers introduced but those of the Vaishnavas who follow Ramanuja, and Madhwacharya, of the Saivas, the Pasupatas, the followers of Abhinava Gupta, who taught the Mantra worship of Siva ; and the alchemical school, or worshippers of Siva's type in quick-silver, and the Rasendra Linga : most of these seem to have sprung into being in the interval between the 10th and 13th centuries, and have now either disappeared, or are rapidly on the decline : those which actually exist, we shall recur to in the view we are now prepared to take of the actual condition of the Hindu faith.

CHAPTER III

PRESENT DIVISIONS OF THE HINDUS, AND OF THE VAISHNAVAS IN PARTICULAR

The classification adopted by the works, I especially follow, if not unexceptionable, is allowable and convenient, and may, therefore, regulate the following details : it divides all the Hindus into three great classes. or Vaishnavas, Saivas, and Saktas, and refers to a fourth or miscellaneous class, all not comprised in the three others.

The worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti, who are the objects of the following description, are not to be confounded with the orthodox adorers of those divinities : few Brahmans of learning, if they have any religion at all, will acknowledge themselves to belong to any of the popular divisions of the Hindu faith, although, as a matter of simple preference, they more especially worship some individual deity, as their chosen, or Ishta Devata : they refer also to the Vedas, the books of law, the Puranas, and Tantras, as the only ritual they recognise, and regard all practices not derived from those sources as irregular and profane : on the other hand, many of the sects seem to have originated, in a great measure, out of opposition to the Brahmanical order : teachers and disciples are chosen from any class, and the distinction of caste is, in a great measure, sunk in the new one, of similarity of schism: the ascetics and mendicants, also in many instances, affect to treat the Brahmans with particular contempt, and this is generally repaid with interest by the Brahmans. A portion, though not a large one, of the populace is still attached to the Smarta Brahmans, as their spiritual guides, and are so far distinct from any of the sects we shall have to specify, whilst most of the followers, even of the sects, pay the ordinary deference to the Brahmanical order, and especially evince towards the Brahmans of their own fellowship, of whom there is generally abundance, the devotedness and submission which the original Hindu Code so perpetually inculcates.

Excluding, therefore, those who may be regarded as the regular worshippers of regular gods, we have the following enumeration of the several species of each class :

VAISHNAVAS : (1) Ramanujas, or Sri Sampradayis, or Sri Vaishnavas, (2) Ramanandis, or Ramavats, (3) Kabir Panthis, (4) Khakis, (5) Maluk Dasis, (6) Dadu Panthis, (7) Raya Dasis, (8) Senais, (9) Vallabhacharis, or Rudra Sampradayis, (10) Mira Bais, (11) Madhwacharis, or Brahma Sampradayis,

(12) Nimavats, or Sanakadi Sampradayis, (13) The Vaishnavas of Bengal, (14) Radha Vallabhis, (15) The Sakhi Bhavas, (16) Charan Dasis, (17) Harischandis, (18) Sadhna Panthis, (19) Madhavis, (20) Sannyasis, Vairagis and Nagas.

SAIVAS : (1) Dandis and Dasnamis, (2) Yogis, (3) Jangamas, (4) Paramahansas, (5) Urdhabahus, Akas Mukhis, and Nakhis, (6) Gudas, (7) Rukharas, Sukharas and Ukharas, (8) Kara Lingis, (9) Sannyasis &c.

SAKTAS : (1) Dakshinis, (2) Vamis, (3) Kanchuliyas (4) Kararis.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS : (1) Ganapatyas, (2) Saurapatas, (3) Nanak Shahis of seven classes—(a) Udasis, (b) Ganjakhshis, (c) Ramrayis, (d) Suthra Shahsi, (e) Govind Sinhis, (f) Nirmalas, (g) Nagas.

(4) Jainas of two principal orders—(a) Digambaras, (b) Svetambaras, (5) Baba Lalis, (6) Pran Nathis, (7) Sadhs, (8) Satnamis, (9) Siva Narayanis, (10) Sunyavadis.

These will be regarded as varieties enough, it may be presumed, especially when it is considered, that most of them comprise a number of sub-divisions, and that besides these acknowledged classifications, many individual mendicants are to be found all over India, who can scarcely be included within the limits of any of them, exercising a sort of independence both in thought and act, and attached very loosely, if at all, to any of the popular schismatical sects¹.

VAISHNAVAS

SRI SAMPRADAYIS, OR RAMANUJAS

Amongst other divisions of less importance, the Vaishnavas are usually distinguished into four principal Sampradayas, or sects²;

¹ Some of the popular works adopt a different classification, and allude to 90 Pashandas, or heresies, which are thus arranged:

Amongst the Brahmans,	..	..	24
Sannyasis	..	..	12
Vairagis,	..	..	12
Sauras,	..	..	18
Jangamas,	..	..	18
Yogis	..	..	12

² Thus the *Bhakta Mala*: "Hari, in preceding ages, assumed twenty-four principal shapes, but four were manifest in the Kali Yug: the magnanimous Ramanuja, a treasure of Ambrosia and terrestrial tree of plenty: the ocean of kindness and transporter across the sea of the universe, Vishnu Swami: Madhu Acharj, a rich cloud in the autumnal season of piety: and Nimbaditya, a sun that illumined the cave of ignorance; by them acts of piety and obligation were divided, and each sect was severally established." There are also Sanskrit texts authorising the different institution, and characteristic term of each Sampradaya, one of these is from the

of these, the most ancient and respectable is the Sri Sampradaya, founded by the Vaishnava reformer Ramanuja Acharya, about the middle of the twelfth century³.

The history of Ramanuja, and his first followers, is well known in the south of India, of which he was a native, and is recorded in various legendary tracts and traditional narratives.

RAMANUJA

According to the *Bhargava Upapurana*, Ramanuja is said to have been an incarnation of the serpent Sesha, whilst his chief companions and disciples were the embodied Discus, Mace, Lotus, and other insignia of Vishnu. In a Kanara account of his life, called the *Divya Charitra*, he is said to have been the son of Sri Kesava Acharya and Bhumi Devi; and, as before, an incarnation of Sesha. He was born at Perumbur, and studied at Kanchi, or Conjeveram, where also he taught his system of the Vaishnava faith. He afterwards resided at Sri Ranga, worshipping Vishnu as Sri Ranga Natha, and there composed his principal works; he then visited various parts of India, disputing with the professors of different creeds, overcoming them of course, and reclaiming various shrines, then in possession of the Saivas, for the worshippers of Vishnu, particularly the celebrated temple of Tripeti.

On his return to Sri Ranga, the disputes between the Vaishnava and Saiva religions, became exceedingly violent, and the Chola monarch, who according to some accounts, was at

Padma Purana: "Those Mantras, which belong to no system, are of no virtue; and, therefore, in the Kali age, there shall be followers of four sects. Sri, Madhwi, Rudra and Sanaka, shall be the Vaishnavas, purifying the world, and these four, Devi, (Siva speaks,) shall be the institutors of the Sampradayas in the Kali period." We may here observe in passing, that if this text is genuine, the *Padma Purana* must be very modern: another similar text is the following: "Lakshmi selected Ramanuja; Brahma Madhwacharya; Rudra gave the preference to Vishnu Swami, and the four Sanaka to Nimbaditya." The cause of the election is not very evident, as the creeds taught by those teachers, have little connection with the deity who lends the appellation to the sects.

3 The *Smriti Kala Taranga* places the date of Ramanuja's appearance in Saka—1049 or A. D. 1127. A note by Mackenzie on an inscription, given in the *Asiatic Researches* 9, 270, places the birth of Ramanuja in A. D. 1008: various accounts, collected by Buchanan, make it 1010 and 1025 (Buchanan's *Mysore* 2, 80) and 1019 (*ibid.* 3, 413). Inscriptions make him alive in 1128, (*ibid.*) which would give him a life of more than a century: according to Wilks, indeed (*History of Mysore* 1, 41, note and appendix), he was alive in 1183. The weight of authority seems to be in favour of the more recent date, and we may conclude that he was born about the end of the eleventh century, and that the first half of the twelfth century was the period at which his fame, as a teacher, was established.

that time Kerikala Chola, subsequently named Krimi Konda Chola, being a devout worshipper of Siva, commanded all the Brahmanas in his dominions to sign an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the divinity, bribing some of the most refractory, and terrifying others into acquiescence. Ramanuja, however, was impracticable, and the king sent armed men to seize him. With the assistance of his disciples, he effected his escape, and ascending the Ghats, found refuge with the Jain sovereign of Mysore, Vitala Deva, Vellala Raya. In consequence of rendering medical service to the daughter of this prince, or in the terms of the legend, expelling an evil spirit, a Brahma Rakshasa, by whom she was possessed, he obtained the monarch's grateful regard, and finally converted him to the Vaishnava faith. The Raja assumed the title of Vishnu Vardhana. Ramanuja remained several years in Mysore, at a temple founded by the Raja on Yadava Giri, now known as Mail Cotay, for the reception of an image called Chavala Raya, a form of Rana-chhor, or Krishna, which the local traditions very ridiculously pretend he obtained from the Muhammedan sovereign of Delhi. Ramanuja resided here twelve years, but on the death of his persecutor, the Chola king, he returned to Sri Ranga, on the Kaveri, and there spent the remainder of his life in devout exercises and religious seclusion.

RAMANUJIYIAS

The establishments of the Ramanujiyas are numerous in the Dekhan still, and the same country comprehends the site of the Gaddi, the pillow or seat of the primitive teacher ; his spiritual throne, in fact, to which his disciples are successively elevated⁴. This circumstance gives a superiority to the Acharyas of the Dakshina, or south, over those of the Uttara, or north, into which they are at present divided.

The worship of the followers of Ramanuja, is addressed to Vishnu and to Lakshmi, and their respective incarnations, either singly or conjointly ; and Sri Vaishnavas, by which general name the sect is known, consist of corresponding subdivisions, as Narayana, or Lakshmi, or Lakshmi Narayana, or Rama or Sita or Sita Rama, or Rishna, or Rukmini, or any other modi-

⁴ According to information obtained by Buchanan, Ramanuja founded 700 Maths, of which four only remain; one of the principal of these is at Mail Cotay, or Dakshina Badarikasrama, the Badari station of the south. Ramanuja also established 74 hereditary Guruships amongst his followers, the representatives of which still remain and dispute the supremacy with the Sannyasi members of the order; these last, however, are generally considered of the highest rank (Buchan. *Mysore* 2, 73). In another place (1, 144), he says that 89 Guruships were established, 5 in the Sannyasi class, and 84 in the secular order: the Madams of the five former are Ahobillam, Totadri, Ramesvara, Sri Rangam, and Kanchi.

fications of Vishnu, or his consort, is the preferential object of the veneration of the votary⁵. Sri Vaishnava worship in the north of India, is not very popular, and the sect is rather of a speculative than practical nature, although it does not require, in its teachers, secession from the world : the teachers are usually of the Brahmanical order, but the disciples may be of any caste⁶.

Besides the temples appropriated to Vishnu and his consort, and their several forms, including those of Krishna and Rama, and those which are celebrated as objects of pilgrimage, as Lakshmi-Balaji, Ramnath, and Ranganath, in the south ; Badarinath, in the Himalaya, Jagannath, in Orissa, and Dwaraka, on the Malabar Coast, images of metal or stone are usually set up in the houses of the private members of this sect, which are daily worshipped, and the temples and dwellings are all decorated with the Salagram stone and Tulasi plant.

The most striking peculiarities in the practices of this sect, are the individual preparation, and scrupulous privacy of their meals : they must not eat in cotton garments, but having bathed, must put on woollen or silk : the teachers allow their select pupils to assist them, but, in general, all the Ramanujas cook for themselves, and should the meal during this process, or whilst they are eating, attract even the looks of a stranger, the operation is instantly stopped, and the viands buried in the ground : a similar delicacy, in this respect, prevails amongst some other classes of Hindus, especially of the Rajaput families, but it is not carried to so preposterous an extent⁷.

5 Colebroke, *Asiatic Researches* 7, [Essays &c. London: 1858, p. 124.] says the Ramanujas are of three classes, those who worship Rama alone, Sita alone, and Sita and Rama conjointly. One of my authorities, Mathura Nath, says, they worship Maha Lakshmi, and other information agrees with his; from the texts quoted in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, [Calcutta: 1858, pp. 54, 55,] Vishnu as Vasudeva, is the deity to be worshipped, but no doubt all the varieties exist: without, however, affecting the identity of the sect, the real object of whose devotion is Vishnu, as the cause and creator of the world, and any of his, or his Sakti's more especial manifestations, are consequently entitled to reverence. The term Sri Vaishnavas, most commonly applied to them, denotes an original preference of the female deity or Maha Lakshmi: the worship of Rama is more properly that of the Ramanandis, and they may be the persons intended by Colebrooke's informants, as those of the Ramanujiyas who worship Rama only (*Asiatic Researches* 7, 281). It may also be observed, that the Ramanujiyas unite with Krishna, Rukmini, not Radha, the latter being his mistress only, not his wife, and being never named in the Bhagavat, except in one ambiguous passage.

6 The Mantra, and mark, are never bestowed on any person of impure birth.—Buchan. *Mysore* 1, 146.

7 It is said, however, that there are two divisions of the sect, one called Avarani, from Avarana, screening, or surrounding, and

The chief ceremony of initiation in all Hindu sects, is the communication by the teacher to the disciple of the Mantra, which generally consists of the name of some deity, or a short address to him ; it is communicated in a whisper, and never lightly made known by the adept to profane ears. The Mantra of the Ramanuja sect is said to be the six syllable Mantra—*Om Ramaya namah* ; or Om salutation to Rama⁸.

Another distinction amongst sects, but merely of a civil character, is the term or terms with which the religious members salute each other when they meet, or in which they are addressed by the lay members. Thus amongst the Ramanujas is the phrase, *Daso' smi* or *Daso' ham* ; I am your slave ; accompanied with the Pranam, or slight inclination of the head, and the application of the joined hands to the forehead. To the Acharyas, or supreme teachers of this sect, the rest perform the Ashtanga Dandawat or prostration of the body, with the application of eight parts—the forehead, breast, hands, knees, and insteps of the feet to the ground.

The Hindu sects are usually discriminated by various . . . streaks on their faces, breasts, and arms : for this purpose, all the Vaishnavas employ especially a white earth called Gopichandana, which, to be of the purest description, should be brought from Dwaraka, being said to be the soil of a pool at that place, in which the Gopis drowned themselves when they heard of Krishna's death. The common Gopichandana, however, is nothing but a Magnesian or Calcareous Clay.

The marks of the Ramanujas are two perpendicular white lines, drawn from the root of the hair to the commencement of each eye-brow, and a transverse streak connecting them across the root of the nose : in the centre is a perpendicular streak of red, made with red Sanders, or Roli, a preparation of Turmeric and Lime ; they have also patches of Gopichandana, with a central red streak on the breast, and each upper arm : the marks are supposed to represent the Sankha, Chakra, Gada, and Padma⁹, or Shell, Discus, Club, and Lotus, which

the other Anavarani, from the members not observing such punctilious privacy.

8 In giving the Mantras, as they have been communicated to me, it may be necessary to suggest a doubt of their accuracy ; a Hindu evades what he dislikes to answer, and will not scruple a falsehood to stop enquiry ; men above prejudice, in other respects, find it so difficult to get over that of communicating the Mantra, that when they profess to impart it, even their sincerity can scarcely be admitted without a doubt.

9 The Vaishnava is thus described in the *Bhakta Mala*, the text is probably that of the *Bhagavat*—"They who bear the Tulasi round the neck, the rosary of Lotus seeds, have the shell and discus impressed upon their upper arm, and the upright streak

Vishnu bears in his four hands, whilst the central streak is Sri, or Lakshmi¹⁰. Some have these objects carved on wooden stamps, with which they impress the emblems on their bodies, and others carry their devotion so far as to have the parts cicatrized with heated metallic models of the objects they propose to represent, but this is not regarded as a creditable practice¹¹ : besides these marks, they wear a necklace of the wood of the Tulasi, and carry a rosary of the seeds of the same plant, or of the Lotus.

The principal authorities of this sect are the comments of the founder on the Sutras of Vyasa, and other Vaidika works : they are written in Sanskrit, and are the *Sri Bhashya*, the *Gita Bhashya*, the *Vedartha Sangraha*, *Vedanta Pradipa*, and *Vedanta Sara* : besides these, the works of Venkata Acharya, are of great repute amongst them, as the *Stotra Bhashya*, and *Satadushini*, and others : the *Chanda Maruta Vaidika*, and *Trinsatadhyanam*, are also works of authority, as is the *Pancharatra* of Narada : of the *Puranas* they acknowledge only six as authorities, the *Vishnu*, *Naradiya*, *Garuda*, *Padma*, *Varaha* and the *Bhagavat* : the other twelve are regarded as Tamasa, or originating in the principles of darkness and passion, as we have already observed. Besides these, the Ramanujas have a variety of popular works in the dialects of the South, one of which, the *Guru Para*, containing an account of the life of Ramanuja, was procured by Buchanan, in the course of his statistical researches in *Mysore*.

The chief religious tenet of the Ramanujas, is the assertion along the centre of the forehead, they are Vaishnavas, and sanctify the world."

10 The efficacy of these marks is very great: we are told in the *Kasi Khanda*, that Yama directs his ministers to avoid such as bear them, and the same work observes, that no sin can exist in the individuals who make use of them, be they of whatever caste.

*Brahmanah Kshatriyo Vaisyah Sudro va yadi vetarah.
Vishnubhaktisamayukto ksheyah sarvottasca sah
sankhacakrankitanuh sirasa munjanidharah
gopicananalipitango drshtaseettadadham kutah !*

11 The *Vrihan Naradiya Purana* sentences every Brahman adopting the practice to endless degradation, and even to the internal regions.

*Tathahi samtaptasankadilingacihna tanurnarah,
sa sarvapatakabhogi candalo janmakotibheh,
tam dvijam taptasankhaditingankitananun Harah,
sambhavya Rauravam yati yavatindras caturdasa !*

The reason also occurs—"The body of a Brahman is the abode of all the Gods, if that is consumed, where shall we abide?" It appears, however, that stamping the mark with a hot iron, is commonly in use in the Dekkan. A similar practice seems to have been known to some of the early Christians, and baptizing with fire was stamping the cross on the forehead with a hot iron.

*Brahmanasya tanurjneya sarvadevanamasrita
sa cetsamtapita rajan kimu vakshamahe vrayam !*

that Vishnu is Brahma ; that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and the creator of all. Although they maintain that Vishnu and the universe are one, yet, in opposition to the Vedanta doctrines, they deny that the deity is void of form or quality, and regard him as endowed with all good qualities, and with a two-fold form : the supreme spirit, Paramatma, or cause, and the gross one, the effect, the universe or matter. The doctrine is hence called the Visishthadwaita, or doctrine of unity with attributes. In these assertions they are followed by most of the Vaishnava sects. Creation originated in the wish of Vishnu, who was alone, without a second, to multiply himself : he said, I will become many ; and he was individually embodied as visible and etherial light. After that, as a ball of clay may be moulded into various forms, so the grosser substance of the deity became manifest in the elements, and their combinations : the forms into which the divine matter is thus divided, are pervaded by a portion of the same vitality which belongs to the great cause of all, but which is distinct from his spiritual or eterial essence ; here, therefore, the Ramanujas again oppose the Vedantikas, who identify¹² the Paramatma and Jivatma, or etherial and vital spirit : this vitality, though endlessly diffusible, is imperishable and eternal, and the matter of the universe, as being the same in substance with the Supreme Being, is alike without beginning or end : Purushattama, or Narayana, after having created man and animals, through the instrumentality of those subordinate agents whom he willed into existence for that purpose, still retained the supreme authority of the universe : so that the Ramanujas assert three predicates of the universe, comprehending the deity : it consists of Chit, or spirit, Achit, or matter, and Iswara, or God, or the enjoyer, the thing enjoyed, and the ruler and controller of both. Besides his primary and secondary form as the creator, and creation, the deity has assumed, at different times, particular forms and appearance, for the benefit of his creatures : he is, or has been visibly present amongst men, in five modifications : in his Archa, objects of worship as images, &c. ; in the Vibhavas, or Avataras, as the fish, the boar, &c. ; in certain forms called Vyuhas, of which four are enumerated, Vasudeva, or Krishna, Balararama, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha ; fourthly, in the Sukshma form, which, when perfect, comprises six qualities : Virajas, absence of human passion ; Vimrityu, immortality ; Visoka, exemption from care or pain ; Vijighatsa, absence of natural wants ; Satyakama, and Satyasankalpa, the love and practice of truth ; and sixthly, as the Antaratma, or Antaryami, the human soul, or individualised spirit : these are to be worshipped seriatim, as the ministrant

¹² See, however, Colebrooke: *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1858, p. 169.

ascends in the scale of perfection, and adoration therefore is five-fold ; Abhigamanam, cleaning and purifying the temples, images, &c. Upadanam, providing flowers and perfumes for religious rites : Ijya, the presentation of such offerings, blood offerings being uniformly prohibited, it may be observed, by all the Vaishnavas ; Swadhyaya, counting the rosary and repeating the names of the divinity, or any of his forms ; and Yoga, the effort to unite with the deity¹³. The reward of these acts is elevation to the seat of Vishnu, and enjoyment of like state with his own, interpreted to be perpetual residence in Vaikuntha, or Vishnu's heaven, in a condition of pure ecstasy and eternal rapture.

The Ramanujas are not very numerous in the north of India, where they are better known as Sri Vaishnavas ; they are decidedly hostile to the Saiva sect, and are not on very friendly terms with the modern votaries of Krishna, although they recognise that deity as an incarnation of Vishnu¹⁴.

RAMANANDIS OR RAMAVATS

The followers of Ramanand are much better known than those of Ramanuja in upper Hindustan : they are usually considered as a branch of the Ramanuja sect, and address their devotions peculiarly to Ramachandra, and the divine manifestations connected with Vishnu in that incarnation, as Sita, Lakshmana, and Hanuman.

Ramanand is sometimes considered to have been the immediate disciple of Ramanuja, but this appears to be an error : a more particular account makes him the fifth in descent from that teacher, as follows—the pupil and successor of Ramanuja was Devanand ; of Devanand, Harinand ; of Harinand, Raghavanand, and of this last, Ramanand, an enumeration which, if

¹³ *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, p. 54-56.

¹⁴ Dubois in his 8th Chapter, has some details of the Vaishnava mendicants, as met with in the Dekkan: his account, however, does not apply to the Ramanuja, or any other Vaishnava sect, as known in these provinces, although a few of the particulars may be true, if confined to the Vaishnava Vairagis—the Dakhini Vaishnavas must be, therefore, a very different class from those that are met within any other part of India, or the Abbe must have mixed, as is not unusual with him, a small quantum of truth, with a very large portion of error: it is, indeed, impossible to think him correct, when he states, that “the sectaries of Vishnu eat publicly of all sorts of meat, except beef, and drink spirituous liquors without shame or restraint, and that they are reproached with being the chief promoters of that . . . sacrifice, the Sakti Puja.” now, it is not true of any sect in Upper India, that the practices the Abbe mentions occur at all, except in the utmost privacy and secrecy, and if even in that way they do occur, it is certainly not amongst the Vaishnava Vairagis, but with very different sects, as we shall hereafter see.

correct, would place Ramanand about the end of the 13th century¹⁵. There is great reason, however, to doubt his being entitled to so remote a date, and consequently to question the accuracy of his descent from Ramanuja we shall have occasion to infer, hereafter, from the accounts given of the dates of other teachers, that Ramanand was not earlier than the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century.

According to common tradition, the schism of Ramanand originated in resentment of an affront offered him by his fellow disciples, and sanctioned by his teacher. It is said, that he had spent some time in travelling through various parts of India, after which he returned to the Math, or residence of his superior : his brethren objected to him, that in the course of his peregrinations, it was impossible he could have observed that privacy in his meals, which is a vital observance of the Ramanuja sect, and as Raghavanand admitted the validity of the objection, Ramanand was condemned to feed in a place apart from the rest of the disciples : he was highly incensed at the order, and retired from the society altogether, establishing a schism of his own.

The residence of Ramanand was at Banaras, at the Pancha Ganga Ghat, where a Math, or monastery of his followers, is said to have existed, but to have been destroyed by some of the Mussulman princes : at present there is merely a stone platform, in the vicinity, bearing the supposed impression of his feet, but there are many Maths of his followers, of celebrity at Banaras, whose Panchayat, or council, is the chief authority amongst the Ramavats in Upper India : we shall have frequent occasion to mention these Maths, or convents, and a short account of them may, therefore, here be acceptable.

Most of the religious sects of which we have to give an account, comprise various classes of individuals, resolvable, however, especially into two, whom (for want of more appropriate terms) we must call, perhaps, Clerical and Lay : the bulk of the votaries are generally, but not always of the latter order, whilst the rest, or the clerical class, are sometimes monastic, and sometimes secular : most of the sects, especially the Vaisnavas, leave this distinction a matter of choice : the Vallabharis, indeed, give the preference to married teachers, and all their Gosains are men of business and family : the preference, however, is usually assigned to teachers of an ascetic or coenobitic life, whose pious meditations are not distracted by the affections of kindred, or the cares of the world : the doctrine that introduced similar unsocial institutions into the Christian

¹⁵ The enumeration in the *Bhakta Mala* is different: 1. Ramanuja, 2. Devacharj, 3. Raghavanand, 4. Ramanand; making him the fourth.

church, in the fourth century, being still most triumphantly prevalent in the east, the land of its nativity ; the establishments of which we are treating, and the still existing practices of solitary mortification, originating in the "specious appearance and pompous sound of that maxim of the ancient philosophy, that in order to the attainment of true felicity and communion with God, it was necessary that the soul should be separated from the body even here below, and that the body was to be macerated and mortified for that purpose." (*Mosheim*. i. 378.)

Of the coenobitic members of the different communities, most pursue an erratic and mendicant life : all of them, indeed, at some period have led such a life, and have travelled over various parts of India singly or in bodies, subsisting by alms, by merchandise, and sometimes, perhaps, by less unexceptionable means, like the Sarabaïtes of the east, or the mendicant friars of the Latin Church : they have, however, their fixed rallying points, and are sure of finding, in various parts of their progress, establishments of their own, or some friendly fraternity where they are for a reasonably moderate period lodged and fed. When old or infirm, they sit down in some previously existing Math, or establish one of their own.

The Maths, Asthals, or Akhadas, the residences of the monastic communities of the Hindus, are scattered over the whole country : they vary in structure and extent, according to the property of which the proprietors are possessed ; but they generally comprehend a set of huts or chambers for the Mahant¹⁶, or Superior, and his permanent pupils ; a temple, sacred to the deity whom they worship, or the Samadhi, or shrine of the founder of the sect, or some eminent teacher ; and a Dharma Sala, one or more sheds, or buildings for the

16 The following description of the residence of Mandana Misra, from the *Sankara Vijaya* of Ananda Giri, is very applicable to a modern Math.

"At the distance of four Yojanas, west from Hastinapur, was a square plot of ground, extending a kos on each side; in the centre of it stood a large mansion, constructed of the timber of the Tal, and exactly facing it another a hundred cubits in length; upon the top of this last were many cages full of parrots, and within it resided five hundred pupils, occupied in the study of various Sastras: the first was the dwelling of the Teacher, like Brahma with four heads, like the Serpent King, with a thousand faces, and Rudra, with a five-fold head, amongst his disciples like the waves of the ocean, and enabling them to overcome the universe in unparalleled profundity and extent of knowledge: he was attended by numerous slaves of both sexes: attached to his dwelling were wells and reservoirs, and gardens and orchards, and his person was pampered with the choicest viands procured daily by his disciples. In his court-yard were two Temples, on a circular mound, for the worship of the Visvadevas and the Salagram, in the form of Lakshmi Narayana."

accommodation of the mendicants or travellers, who are constantly visiting the Math : ingress and egress is free to all ; and, indeed, a restraint upon personal liberty seems never to have entered into the conception of any of the religious legislators of the Hindus.

The Math is under the entire control of a Mahant, or Superior, with a certain number of resident Chelas, or disciples ; their number varies from three or four to thirty or forty, but in both cases there are always a number of vagrant or out-members : the resident Chelas are usually the elders of the body, with a few of the younger as their attendants and scholars ; and it is from the senior and more proficient of these ascetics, that the Mahant is usually elected.

In some instances, however, where the Mahant has a family, the situation descends in the line of his posterity : where an election is to be effected, it is conducted with much solemnity, and presents a curious picture of a regularly organised system of church policy, amongst these apparently unimportant and straggling communities.

The Maths of various districts look up to some one of their own order as chief, and they all refer to that connected with their founder, as the common head : under the presidency, therefore, of the Mahant of that establishment, wherever practicable, and in his absence, of some other of acknowledged pre-eminence, the Mahants of the different Maths assemble, upon the decease of one of their brethren, to elect a successor. For this purpose they regularly examine the Chelas, or disciples of the deceased, the ablest of whom is raised to the vacant situation : should none of them be qualified, they choose a Mahant from the pupils of some other teacher, but this is rarely necessary, and unless necessary, is never had recourse to. The new Mahant is then regularly installed, and is formally invested with the cap, the rosary, the frontal mark, or Tika, or any other monastic insignia, by the president of the assembly. Under the native Government, whether Muhammadan or Hindu—the election of the superior of one of these establishments was considered as a matter of sufficient moment to demand the attention of the Governor of the province, who, accordingly, in person, or by his deputy, presided at the election : at present, no interference is exercised by the ruling authorities, and rarely by any lay character, although occasionally, a Raja, or a Zamindar, to whose liberality the Math is indebted, or in whose lands it is situated, assumes the right of assisting and presiding at the election.

The Mahants of the sects, in which the election takes place, are generally assisted by those of the sects connected with them : each is attended by a train of disciples, and individuals

of various mendicant tribes repair to the meeting ; so that an assemblage of many hundreds, and sometimes of thousands, occurs : as far as the resources of the Math, where they are assembled, extend, they are maintained at its expense ; when those fail, they must shift for themselves ; the election is usually a business of ten or twelve days, and during the period of its continuance, various points of policy or doctrine are discussed in the assembly.

Most of the Maths have some endowments of land, but with the exception of a few established in large cities, and especially at Banaras, the individual amount of these endowments is, in general, of little value. There are few Maths in any district that possess five hundred Bighas of land, or about one hundred and seventy acres, and the most usual quantity is about thirty or forty Bighas only : this is sometimes let out for a fixed rent ; at other times it is cultivated by the Math on its own account ; the highest rental met with, in any of the returns procured, is six hundred and thirty rupees per annum. Although, however, the individual portions are trifling, the great number of these petty establishments renders the aggregate amount considerable, and as the endowed lands have been granted Mafi, or free of land tax, they form, altogether, a serious deduction from the revenue of each district.

Besides the lands they may hold, the Maths have other sources of support : the attachment of lay votaries frequently contributes very liberally to their wants : the community is also sometimes concerned, though, in general, covertly, in traffic, and besides those means of supply, the individual members of most of them sally forth daily to collect alms from the vicinity, the aggregate of which, generally in the shape of rice or other grains, furnishes forth the common table : it only remains to observe, that the tenants of these Maths, particularly the Vaishnavas, are most commonly of a quiet inoffensive character, and the Mahants especially are men of talents and respectability, although they possess, occasionally, a little of that self-importance, which the conceit of superior sanctity is apt to inspire : there are, it is true, exceptions to this innocuous character, and robberies, and murders have been traced to these religious establishments.

The especial object of the worship of Ramananda's followers is Vishnu, as Ramachandra : they, of course, reverence also the other incarnations of Vishnu, but they maintain the superiority of Rama, in the present or Kali Yug ; hence they are known collectively as Ramavats, although the same variety prevails amongst them, as amongst the Ramanujas, as to the exclusive or collective worship of the male and female members of this incarnation, or of Rama and Sita, singly, or jointly, or

Sita Rama¹⁷ : individuals of them also pay particular veneration to some of the other forms of Vishnu, and they hold in like estimation, as the Ramanujas, and every Vaishnava sect, the Salagram stone and Tulasi plant ; their forms of worship correspond with those of the Hindus generally, but some of the mendicant members of the sect, who are very numerous, and are usually known as Vairagis, or Viraktas, consider all form of adoration superfluous, beyond the incessant invocation of the name of Krishna and Rama.

The practices of this sect are of less precise nature than those of the Ramanujas, it being the avowed object of the founder to release his disciples from those fetters which he had found so inconvenient : in allusion to this, indeed, he gave, it is said, the appellation Avadhuta, or Liberated, to his scholars, and they admit no particular observances with respect to eating or bathing¹⁸, but follow their own inclination, or comply with the common practice in these respects. The initiatory Mantra is said to be Sri Rama—the salutation is Jaya Sri Rama, Jaya Ram, or Sita Ram : their marks are the same as those of the preceding, except that the red perpendicular streak on the forehead is varied, in shape and extent, at the pleasure of the individual, and is generally narrower than that of the Ramanujas.

Various sects are considered to be but branches of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas, and their founders are asserted to have been amongst his disciples : of these disciples, twelve are particularised as the most eminent, some of whom have given origin to religious distinctions of great celebrity, and, although their doctrines are often very different from those of Ramanand, yet the popular tradition is so far corroborated, that they maintain an amicable intercourse with the followers of Ramanand, and with each other.

The twelve chief disciples of Ramanand are named, as follows—Asanand, Kabir, the weaver, Raindas, the Chamar, or carrier, Pipa, the Rajput, Sursuranand, Sukhanand, Bhavanand, Dhanna the Jat, Sena, the barber—Mahanand, Paramanand, and Srianand¹⁹, a list which shows, that the school of

¹⁷ Amongst the temples of this sect at Banaras, are two dedicated to Radha Krishna, although attached to Maths belonging to the Ramavat order, and not at all connected with the followers of Vallabha, or of Chaitanya and Nityanand.

¹⁸ The Vairagis of this sect, and some others, eat and drink together, without regard to tribe or caste, and are thence called Kulatut, or Varnatut.

¹⁹ The *Bhakta Mala* has a rather different list: 1. Raghunath, 2. Anantanand, 3. Kabir, 4. Sukhasur, 5. Jiva, 6. Padmavat, 7. Pipa, 8. Bhavanand, 9. Raidas, 10. Dhanna, 11. Sena, 12. Sursura. His successors, again, were somewhat different, or 1. Raghunath, 2. Anantanand, Yoganand, Ramdas, Sri Ranja, and Narahari.

Ramanand admitted disciples of every caste : it is, in fact, asserted in the *Bhakta Mala*, that the distinction of caste is inadmissible according to the tenets of the Ramanandis : there is no difference, they say, between Bhagavan and Bhakta, or the deity and his worshipper ; but Bhagavan appeared in inferior forms, as a Fish, a Boar, a Tortoise, &c., so therefore the Bhakta may be born as a Chamar, a Koli, a Chhipi, or any other degraded caste.

The various character of the reputed disciples of Ramanand, and a consideration of the tenets of those sects which they have founded, lead to a conclusion, that this individual, if he did not invent, gave fresh force to a very important encroachment upon the orthodox system : he, in fact, abrogated the distinction of caste amongst the religious orders, and taught, that the holy character who quitted the ties of nature and society, shook off, at the same time, all personal distinction—this seems to be the proper import of the term Avadhuta, which Ramanand is said to have affixed to his followers, and they were liberated from more important restraints than those of regimen and ablution : the popular character of the works of this school corroborates this view of Ramananda's innovation ; Sankara and Ramanuja writing to and for the Brahmanical order alone, composed chiefly, if not solely, Sanskrit commentaries on the text of the Vedas, or Sanskrit expositions of their peculiar doctrines and the teachers of these opinions, whether monastic or secular, are indispensably of the Brahmanical caste—it does not appear that any works exist which are attributed to Ramanand himself, but those of his followers are written in the provincial dialects, and addressed to the capacity, as well as placed within the reach, of every class of readers, and every one of those may become a Vairagi, and rise, in time, to be a Guru or Mahant.

We shall have occasion to speak again particularly of such of the above mentioned disciples of Ramanand, as instituted separate sects, but there are several who did not aspire to that distinction, and whose celebrity is, nevertheless, still very widely spread throughout Hindusthan: there are also several personages belonging to the sects of particular note, and we may, therefore, here pause, to extract a few of the anecdotes which the *Bhakta Mala* relates of those individuals, and which, if they do not afford much satisfactory information regarding their objects, will at least furnish some notion of the character of this popular work.

PIPA, THE RAJPUT

Pipa, the Rajput, is called the Raja of Gangaraun : he was originally a worshipper of Devi, but abandoned her service for that of Vishnu, and repaired to Banaras to put himself under

the tuition of Ramanand. Having disturbed the sage at an inconvenient season, Ramanand angrily wished that he might fall into the well of his courtyard, on which Pipa, in the fervour of his obedience, attempted to cast himself into it to accomplish the desire of the saint. This act was with difficulty prevented by the by-standers, and the attempt so pleased Ramanand that he immediately admitted the Raja amongst his disciples.

Pipa, after some time abandoned his earthly possessions, and accompanied by only one of his wives, named Sita, as ardent a devotee as himself, adopting a life of mendicity, accompanied Ramanand and his disciples to Dwaraka. Here he plunged into the sea to visit the submarine shrine of Krishna, and was affectionately received by that deity : after spending some days with him, Pipa returned, when the fame of the occurrence spread, and attracted great crowds to see him. Finding them incompatible with his devotions, Pipa left Dwaraka privately : on the road some Pathans carried off his wife, but Rama himself rescued her, and slew the ravishers. The life of this vagrant Raja is narrated at considerable length in the *Bhakta Mala*, and is made up of the most absurd and silly legends. On one occasion the Raja encounters a furious lion in a forest ; he hangs a rosary round his neck, whispers the Mantra of Rama, and makes him tranquil in a moment ; he then lectures the lion on the impropriety of devouring men and kine, and sends him away penitent, and with a pious purpose to do so no more.

Of Sursuranand we have a silly enough story of some cakes that were given to him by a Mlechchha being changed when in his mouth into a Tulasi leaf. Of Dhanna, it is related that a Brahman, by way of a frolic, gave him a piece of stone, and desired him to offer to it first, whatever he was about to eat. Dhanna obeyed, looking upon the stone as the representative of Vishnu, who, being pleased with his devotion appeared, and constantly tended the cattle of the simple Jat : at last he recommended his becoming the disciple of Ramanand, for which purpose he went to Banaras, and having received the Mantra, returned to his farm. Raghunath, or in the text Asanand, succeeded Ramanand in the Gaddhi, or the seat of the Mahant.

NARAHARI OR HARYANANDA

Narahari or Haryanand was also a pupil of Ramanand, whom it is difficult to identify with any one in the list above given : we have a characteristic legend of him.

Being one day in want of fuel to dress his meat, he directed one of his pupils to proceed to a neighbouring temple of Devi, and bring away from it any portion of the timber he could conveniently remove : this was done, to the great alarm, but

utter helplessness of the goddess, who could not dispute the authority of a mortal of Haryanand's sanctity. A neighbour who had observed this transaction laboured under a like want of wood : at the instigation of his wife, he repaired also to the temple, and attempted to remove one of the beams, when the goddess, indignant at his presumption, hurled him and broke his neck : the widow hearing of her husband's fate, immediately hastened to the temple, and liberally abused the vindictive deity. Devi took advantage of the business to make a bargain for her temple, and restored the man to life, on condition that he would ever afterwards buy fuel for Haryanand.

The legends of such other disciples of Ramanand as occur in the *Bhakta Mala* will be given in their proper places, and it will be sufficient here to confine our further extracts from that authority to Nabhaji, the author, Sur Das, and Tulasi Das, to whose poetical talents the late version of it is largely indebted, and Jayadeva, whose songs have been translated by Sir William Jones.

NABHAJI

Nabhaji, the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, was by birth a Dom, a caste whose employ is making baskets and various sorts of wicker work. The early commentators say he was of the Hanuman Vansa, or Monkey tribe, because, observes the modern interpreter, Banar, a monkey, signifies in the Marwar language a Dom, and it is not proper to mention the caste of a Vaishnava by name : he was born blind, and when but five years old, was exposed by his parents, during a time of scarcity, to perish in the woods : in this situation he was found by Agradas and Kil, two Vaishnava teachers : they had compassion upon his helplessness, and Kil sprinkled his eyes with the water of his Kamandalu, or water pot, and the child saw : they carried Nabhaji to their Math, where he was brought up, and received the initiatory Mantra from Agradas : when arrived at maturity, he wrote the *Bhakta Mala* by desire of his Guru. The age of Nabhaji must be about two centuries, or two and a half, as he is made contemporary with Man Singh, the Raja of Jaynagar, and with Akbar. He should date much earlier, if one account of his spiritual descent which makes him the fourth from Ramanand²⁰ be admitted, but in the *Bhakta Mala*, Krishna Das, the second in that account, does not descend in a direct line from Ramanand, but derives his qualifications as teacher from the immediate instructions of Vishnu himself : there is no necessity, therefore, to connect Nabhaji with Ramanand. The same authority places him

20 1. Ramanand, 2. Asanand, 3. Krishna Das, 4. Kil and Agradas, 5. Nabhaji. See the next division of this section.

also something later, as it states that Tulasi Das, who was contemporary with Shah Jehan, visited Nabhaji at Brindavan. It is probable, therefore, that this writer flourished at the end of Akbar's reign, and in the commencement of that of his successor.

SUR DAS

The notices we have of Sur Das are very brief : he was blind, a great poet, and a devout worshipper of Vishnu, in whose honour all his poems are written : they are songs and hymns of various lengths, but usually short, and the greater number are Padas, or simply stanzas of four lines, the first line forming a subject, which is repeated as the last and the burden of the song, Padas being very generally sung, both at public entertainments, and the devotional exercises of the Vaishnava ascetics. Sur Das is said to have composed 125,000 of these Padas : he is almost entitled to be considered as the founder of a sect, as blind beggars carrying about musical instruments, to which they chant stanzas in honour of Vishnu, are generally termed Sur Dasis. The tomb of Sur Das, a simple mound of earth, is considered to be situated in a tope near Sivpur, a village about two miles to the north of Banaras. There is also an account of a saint of the same name in the *Bhakta Mala*, who is possibly a different person from the blind bard. This was a Brahman, Amin, or collector of the Parganah of Sandila, in the reign of Akbar, and who with more zeal than honesty made over his collections to the shrine of Madana Mohana, a form of Krishna, at Brindavan, and sent to the treasury chests filled with stones²¹ : the minister Todar Mall, however, although a Hindu, was not disposed to confirm this transfer, and he had the defaulter arrested and thrown into prison. Sur Das then applied to Akbar, and the good natured monarch, who probably thought his collector more fool than knave, set him at liberty. He retired to Brindavan and there continued to lead a religious and ascetic life.

TULASI DAS

The account of Tulasi Das in the *Bhakta Mala* represents him as having been incited to the peculiar adoration of Rama by the remonstrances of his wife, to whom he was passionately

²¹ He accompanied them also with the following rhyme which may be thus rendered :

The Saints have shared Sandila's taxes,
Of which the total thirteen lakhs is,
A fee for midnight service owen,
By me Sur Das to Madan Mohen.

[Price's *Hindee and Hindustani Selections*. Calc., 1827. I, p. 100.]

attached : he adopted a vagrant life, visited Banaras, and afterwards went to Chitrakuta, where he had a personal interview with Hanuman, from whom he received his poetical inspiration, and the power of working miracles : his fame reached Dehli, where Shah Jehan was emperor : the monarch sent for him to produce the person of Rama, which Tulasi Das refusing to do, the king threw him into confinement ; the people of the vicinity, however, speedily petitioned for his liberation, as they were alarmed for their own security : myriads of monkies having collected about the prison, and begun to demolish it, and the adjacent buildings. Shah Jehan set the poet at liberty, and desired him to solicit some favour as a reparation for the indignity he had suffered : Tulasi Das, accordingly, requested him to quit ancient Dehli, which was the abode of Rama, and in compliance with this request the emperor left it, and founded the new city, thence named Shah Jehanabad. After this, Tulasi Das went to Brindavan, where he had an interview with Nabhaji : he settled there, and strenuously advocated the worship of Sita Rama, in preference to that of Radha Krishna.

Besides these legendary tales of this celebrated writer, whose works exercise more influence upon the great body of Hindu population than the whole voluminous series of Sanskrit composition, we have other notices of him collected from his own works, or preserved by tradition, that differ in some respects from the above. From these it appears, that Tulasi Das was a Brahman of the Sarvarya branch, and a native of Hajipur, near Chitrakuta ; when arrived at maturity, he settled at Banaras, and held the office of Diwan to the Raja of that city : his spiritual preceptor was Jagannath Das, a pupil, as well as Nabhaji, of Agradas : he followed this teacher to Govardhan, near Brindavan, but afterwards returned to Banaras, and there commenced his Hindi version of the *Ramayana*, in the year of Samvat 1631, when he was thirty-one years of age. Besides this work, which is highly popular, Tulasi Das is the author of a *Sat Sai*²², or collection of one hundred stanzas on various subjects : of the *Ram Gunavali*, a series of verses in praise of Rama, of a *Gitavali*, and *Vinaya Patrika*, poetical compositions of a devotional or moral tendency, and of a great variety of Hymns—as Ragas, Kavits, and Padas in honour of his tutelary deity and his consort, or Rama and Sita. Tulasi Das continued to reside at Banaras, where he built a temple to Sita Rama, and founded a Math adjoining, both which are still in existence : he died in the year of the Samvat era, 1680, or

22 [The word *Sat Sai* rather implies a collection of seven hundred stanzas or slokas, such as e. g. the *Devimahatmya*. See *Sabdakalpadruma* s. v.]

A. D. 1624, in the reign of Jehangir²³, and the legendary story of his intercourse with Shah Jehan, is consequently an anachronism.

JAYADEVA

Jayadeva was an inhabitant of a village called Kinduvilva, where he led an ascetic life, and was distinguished for his poetical powers, and the fervour of his devotion to Vishnu. He at first adopted a life of continence, but was subsequently induced to marry. A Brahman had dedicated his daughter to Jagannath, but on his way to the shrine of that deity was addressed by him, and desired to give the maiden to Jayadeva who was one with himself. The saint, who it should appear had no other shelter than the shade of a tree, was very unwilling to burden himself with a bride, but her father disregarded his refusal, and leaving his daughter with him departed. Jayadeva then addressed the damsel, and asked her what she proposed to do, to which she replied : "whilst I was in my father's house, I was obedient to his will ; he has now presented me to you, and I am subject to your pleasure ; if you reject me, what remains for me but to die ?" The saint finding there was no help, turned householder, and removed the image he had worshipped in the air into his dwelling, by desire, it is said, of the object of his adoration. In his new condition he composed the *Gita Govinda*, in which Krishna himself assisted, for on one occasion, Jayadeva being puzzled how to describe the charms of Radha, laid down the paper for a happier moment, and went to bathe. Krishna, assuming his person, entered his house, and wrote the requisite description, much to the poet's astonishment on his return home.

Of the *Gita Govinda* it is said, that the Raja of Nilachala (Orissa) composed a poem similarly named, but when the two works were placed before Jagannath, he took the work of Jayadeva to his bosom, and threw that of the Raja out of his temple. It is also said, that the *Gita Govinda* was sung in the court of Vikrama, thus assigning to it an antiquity which there is no reason to suspect it can justly claim.

Jayadeva being desirous of performing a particular rite for his idol, resumed his erratic habits and succeeded in collecting a considerable sum of money for this purpose : on the road he was attacked by Thags, or thieves, who robbed him, and cut off his hands and feet. In this state he was found by a Raja who took him home, and had his wounds healed. Shortly afterwards the thieves, disguised as religious mendicants, came to

²³ According to this memorial verse:
samvat solaha say asi Gangake tir,
Savan sukla saptami Tulsi tajyan sarir !

the court of the Raja. Jayadeva recognized them, and overwhelmed them with benefits. On their departure, two of the Raja's people were sent to attend them to the confines of the Raj, who on their way asked them how they had merited the saint's particular regard. To this they replied, that they had been his fellows in the service of a Raja, who had ordered them to put him to death : they however only mutilated him, and his gratitude for their sparing his life was the reason he had treated them so kindly. They had no sooner uttered these words, than the earth opened and swallowed them. The servants of the Raja returned, and reported the occurrence, when a fresh miracle took place—the hands and feet of Jayadeva sprouted forth again. The Raja being filled with astonishment, requested the saint to explain these events, which he did by narrating what had befallen him.

After remaining some time with the Raja where he restored to life his own wife Padmavati, who had voluntarily put an end to herself, he returned to Kinduivilva. Here the Ganges, which was then eighteen kos distant, and to which he went daily to bathe, requested him not to undergo so much fatigue, as she would rather come to him. The proposal was accepted by the saint, and according to our guide, the river now runs close to the village.

RAMANAND

The ascetic and mendicant followers of Ramanand, known indiscriminately as Ramanandis or Ramavats, are by far the most numerous class of sectaries in Gangetic India : in Bengal they are comparatively few : beyond this province, as far as to Allahabad²⁴, although perhaps the most numerous, they yield in influence and wealth to the Saiva branches, especially to the Atits : hence, however, they predominate and either by themselves, or their kindred divisions, almost engross the whole of the country along the Ganges and Jamuna: in the district of Agra, they alone constitute seven-tenths of the ascetic population. The Ramanandis have very numerous votaries, but they are chiefly from the poorer and inferior classes, with the exception of the Rajputs and military Brahmans, amongst whom

²⁴ Some of the principal Maths at Banaras are the following: Ramjit, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Maya Ram, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Ramanuja, Khaki, Mahant, a temple of Sita Ram. Purushottama Das, Khaki, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Pitambara Das, Mahant, Sita Ram; this is the Mandir of Tulasi Das. Govind Das, Mahant, Radha Krishna. Ramacharan, ditto, ditto.

At a late meeting (1820) to elect a Mahant of one of the Vaishnava Maths, in the vicinity of Banaras, about 5000 Mendicants of the various branches of the sect attended; of these at least 3000 were Ramavats, the rest were Sri Vaishnavas, Kabir Panthis, and others.

the poetical works of Sur Das and Tulasi Das maintain the pre-eminence of Rama and his Bhaktas.

KABIR PANTHIS

Amongst the twelve disciples of Ramanand the most celebrated of all, and one who seems to have produced, directly or indirectly, a greater effect on the state of popular belief than any other, was Kabir : with an unprecedented boldness he assailed the learning of the Pandits, and doctrines of the Sastras, in a style peculiarly well suited to the genius of his countrymen to whom he addressed himself, whilst he also directed his compositions to the Musalman, as well as to the Hindu faith, and with equal severity attacked the Mulla and Koran. The effect of his lessons, as confined to his own immediate followers, will be shown to have been considerable, but their indirect effect has been still greater ; several of the popular sects being little more than ramifications from his stock, whilst Nanak Shah, the only Hindu reformer who has established a national faith, appears to have been chiefly indebted for his religious notions to his predecessor Kabir²⁵. This sect therefore claims particular attention.

The origin of the founder of this sect is variously narrated, although in the main points the traditions are agreed : the story told in the *Bhakta Mala* is, that he was the son of the virgin widow of a Brahman, whose father was a follower of Ramanand : at his daughter's repeated request, he took her to see Ramanand, and that teacher, without adverting to her situation, saluted her with the benediction he thought accept-

25 Malcolm says, that Nanak constantly referred to the writings of the celebrated Muhammadan Kabir, (*Asiatic Researches* XI, 267.) and the Kabir Panthis assert, that he has incorporated several thousand passages from Kabir's writings. As to Kabir's being a Muhammadan, I shall allude to the improbability, I may say impossibility, of this in the text; nor is Malcolm more accurate when he calls him a celebrated Sufi, for his doctrines have nothing in common apparently with that sect; indeed I think it not at all improbable that no such person as Kabir ever existed, and that his name is a mere cover to the innovations of some freethinker amongst the Hindus: perhaps some one of those considered as his principal disciples: his names are very suspicious, and Jnani, the sage, or Kabir, the greatest, are generic rather than individual denominations: at any rate, even if the individual were distinct, we must suppose that the name which occurs in his writings is nothing more than the Takhallus, or assumed name, under which both Musalman and Hindu poets have been accustomed to send their compositions into the world. To return, however, to the obligations which the popular religions owe to the real or supposed Kabir, I find him avowedly or unavowedly cited by Baba Lal, and in the writings of the Sadhs, the Satnamis, the Sri Narainis and Sunyavadis, and I am told that the Dadu Panthis, and Darya Dasis are equally indebted to him.

able to all women, and wished her the conception of a son : his words could not be recalled, and the young widow, in order to conceal the disgrace thus inflicted on her, contrived to be privately delivered, and exposed the child : it was found by a weaver and his wife, and brought up as their own.

The followers of Kabir do not admit more than the conclusion of this legend : according to them, the child, who was no other than the incarnate deity, was found floating on a Lotus in Lahartalab, a lake, or pond near Banaras, by the wife of a weaver, named Nima²⁶, who, with her husband Nuri, was attending a wedding procession : she took the child up, and showed it to her husband, who being addressed by the child, and desired to take him to Kasi, fled with terror, thinking they had got hold of some incarnate demon : after having run to the distance of about a mile, he was surprised to find the child before him, by whom his fear was tranquillised, and he was persuaded to return to his wife, and bring up, without anxiety or alarm, the infant they had so marvellously discovered.

All traditions concur in making Kabir the disciple of Ramanand, although various stories are narrated of the method by which he obtained that distinction, and overcame the objections started to him as a man of low caste, or, according to very general belief, of the Muhammadan persuasion : he succeeded at last by surprise, having put himself in the way of that teacher on the steps of the ghat down which he went at day-break to bathe, so as to be struck with his foot, on which Ramanand exclaimed, Ram, Ram, words that Kabir assumed, and Ramanand acknowledged to be the initiatory Mantra, which forms the bond of union between a Guru and his disciple.

The story of Kabir's being a disciple of Ramanand, however told, and, although perhaps not literally true in any fashion, may be so far correct, that Kabir was roused by the innovations of that sectary to adopt and extend the schism, and seems to place at contiguous periods the eras at which they flourished : according to the Kabir Panthis, their founder was present in the world three hundred years, or from 1149 to 1449,²⁷ but of these dates we cannot admit the accuracy of more than one at most as the latter is the more recent, it is the more probable : agreeable to this is the connexion of Kabir's writings with the faith of Nanak Shah, who began to teach about 1490, and it

²⁶ According to the text of the *Bhakta Mala*, as printed in Price's *Hindee and Hindustanee Selections*, Calcutta: 1827. Vol. I, p. 84, Kabir was found by a weaver of the name of Ali (a Muhammadan?), *Ali julaha ne paya*.

²⁷ "In the Samvat 1205 Jnani meditated, was manifest at Kasi, and declared the text called Taksar: in the Samvat 1505 he journeyed to Magar, and on the 11th of the light fortnight of Aghan, air mixed with air."

also confirms a particular account, current amongst his followers, of his openly vindicating his doctrines before Sekandar Shah²⁸, in whose time Ferishta has noticed, that some religious disputes, possibly connected with the history of Kabir, or that of some of his disciples, did occur.

These circumstances, connected with the acknowledged date of his death, render it exceedingly probable that Kabir flourished about the beginning of the 15th century—and as it is also not unlikely that his innovations were connected with the previous exertions of Ramanand, consequently that teacher must have lived about the 14th.

According to one account, Kabir was originally named Jnani, the knowing or wise. The Musalmans, it is said, claim him as one of their persuasion, but his conversancy with the Hindu Sastras, and evidently limited knowledge of the Muhammadan authorities in matters of religion, render such a supposition perfectly unwarrantable : at any rate tradition represents

28 There is a *Ramaini* to that effect, and the following story is told, with the usual marvellous embellishments, in the *Bhakta Mala*; in that work it is said, his mother complained to Sekandar Padshah of her son's having deserted the true faith, on which the king sent for him; he appeared with the Tika and Mala, and when told to make the customary Salam, he replied, "I know none but Ram, what use is there in prostrating myself to a monarch?" Enraged at his behaviour, the king ordered him to be chained hand and foot, and thrown into the river. The water bore him to shore. He then commanded him to be cast into fire, but the flames played harmless round him. He then directed him to be trodden to death by an elephant, but as soon as the animal saw the sage, he turned tail and ran away. The king mounted his own elephant, resolved to execute his commands in person, but when he approached, Kabir transformed himself into a lion. The Monarch then convinced of his divine character alighted, and falling at his feet, offered him any lands and villages he might choose: these offers he declined, saying, "Ram is my wealth: of what avail are worldly possessions, but to set father, and son, and brother, at deadly variance?" He returned to his abode, and remained unmolested. Price, *Hindee and Hindustanee Selections* I, 86.

Malcolm in the note before cited, places him in the reign of Shir Shah; this is, however, at variance with his own statements; Nanak was in the height of his career in 1527, *Asiatic Researches*, XI, 206.) then imparting to Baber tenets which he had partly borrowed from the writings of Kabir, and which must consequently have been sometime previously promulgated: but Sir Shah did not commence his reign till 1542, and it was therefore impossible for Kabir to have lived in his reign, and at the same time to have instigated by his own innovations the more successful ones of Nanak. Kabir's being contemporary with Sekandar, is also mentioned in Priya Dasa's expansion of the *Bhakta Mala*: it is likewise stated in the *Kholassat al tawarikh*, and is finally established by Abulfazl, who says that Kabir, the Unitarian, lived in the reign of Sultan Sekandar Lodi (*Ay: Ac: 2, 38*). G. de Tassy, *histoire de la littérature Hindoui et Hindustani*. Paris: 1839 & 47. Vol. I, p. 275. II, 6.

it to have occasioned a contest between them and the Hindus respecting the disposal of his corpse, the latter insisting on burning, the Musalmans on burying it ; in the midst of the dispute, Kabir himself appeared amongst them, and desiring them to look under the cloth supposed to cover his mortal remains, immediately vanished : on obeying his instructions, they found nothing under the cloth, but a heap of flowers : one half of these Banar Raja or Birsinha Raja, then Raja of Banaras, removed to that City, where they were burnt, and where he appropriated the spot now called the Kabir Chaura to the reception of their ashes, whilst Bijili Khan Patthan, the head of the Muhammadan party, erected a tomb over the other portion at Magar near Gorakhpur, where Kabir had died. This latter place was endowed by Mansur Ali Khan with several villages of the followers of this sect.

The Kabir Panthis in consequence of their Master having been the reputed disciple of Ramanand, and of their paying more respect to Vishnu, than the other Members of the Hindu triad, are always included amongst the Vaishnava sects, and maintain with most of them, the Ramavats especially, a friendly intercourse and political alliance : it is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe any of the rites or ceremonials of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical ; such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribe and caste, and some of them even pretend to worship the usual divinities, although this is considered as going farther than is justifiable. Those however who have abandoned the fetters of society, abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage, chiefly in chanting Hymns, exclusively to the invisible Kabir : they use no Mantra nor fixed form of salutation ; they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting however to clothe themselves in order to appear dressed, where clothing is considered decent or respectful—the Mahants wear a small scull cap : the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the Vaishnava sects, or they make a streak with Sandal, or Gopichandan along the ridge of the nose : a necklace and rosary of Tulasi are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance, and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to²⁹.

²⁹ To avoid unnecessary contention, and its probable concomitant in other days, persecution, was the object probably of the following prudent maxim, one of the *Sakhis* of their founder: "Associate and mix with all, and take the names of all; say to every one, yes Sir, yes Sir. Abide in your own abode."—They do not admit that taking the names of all implies the invocation of the illusory deities of the Hindu Pantheon, but means that they should reply as they are addressed, whether the phrase be *Bandagi*,

The doctrines of Kabir are taught in a great variety of works in different dialects of Hindi ; they are the acknowledged compositions of his disciples and successors, but they are mostly in the form of dialogues, and profess to be his utterance, either in his own words, with the phrase, Kahahi Kabir, 'Kabir verily says', or to the same substance, which is marked by the qualification, Kahai Kabir, 'Kabir has said', or they are given in the language of his followers, when the expression Das Kabir, the slave of Kabir, is made use of. The style of all their works is very peculiar, they are written in the usual forms of Hindi verse, the Doha, Chaupai and Samay : and are very voluminous, as may be inferred from the following collection, preserved as the *Khass Grantha*, or The Book at the Chaura.

(1) *Sukh Nidhan*, (2) *Gorakhnath ki Goshthi*, (3) *Kabir Panji*, (4) *Balakh ki Ramaini*, (5) *Ramanand ki Goshthi*, (6) *Anand Ram Sagara*, (7) *Sabdalali*, containing 1,000 Sabdas, or short doctrinal expositions, (8) *Mangala*, 100 short poems, amongst which is the account of Kabir's discovery as given above, (9) *Vasant*, 100 hymns in that Raga, (10) *Holi*, 200 of the songs called Holi, (11) *Rekhtas*, 100 odes, (12) *Jhulanas*, 500 odes, in a different style, (13) *Kaharas*, 500 odes, in different style, (14) *Hindolas*, 12 ditto. The subject of all these odes, or hymns, is always moral or religious, (15) *Barah Masa*, the 12 months in a religious view, agreeably to Kabir's system, (16) *Chancharas* 22, (17) *Chautisas* 2 : the 34 letters of the Nagari alphabet, with their religious signification. (18) *Alefnamah*, the Persian alphabet in the same manner, (19) *Ramainis*, short doctrinal or argumentative poems, *Sakhis* 5,000, these may be considered as texts, consisting of one stanza each, (20) *The Bijak*, in 654 Sections³⁰.

Dandavat, or *Ram Ram*: the proper salutation of an inferior to a superior amongst them, if any be particularly proper, is *Bandagi Sahib*, Service, Sir: to which the latter replies, *Guru Ki Daya*, the mercy of the Lord be upon you.,

³⁰ There are two *Bijaks*, however, only differing in the occasional omission of some passages and introduction of others; the longer of the two, they say, was communicated by Kabir himself to the Raja of Banaras. I rather suspect, however, that the varieties are only those common to most Hindu Manuscripts, and that many more than two varieties are to be found. A curious Italian work on the Kabir Panthis, entitled, but not accurately, *Mulapani*, intending no doubt *Mulapanthi*, or Radical disciple, not as rendered, *Della Radice*, is published in the third volume of the *Mines of the East*: it was found amongst the papers of the Propaganda, and is communicated by Monsignore Munter, Bishop of Zeala d, in Denmark; an eminent Scholar, the author of a valuable work on the Sahidic Version of the New Testament &c. It is to be presumed, that it is intended to be a translation of some Kabiri work, but how correctly it deserves this character, may be questioned; much of the phraseology of the sect is indeed closely followed, but the minute and ridiculous details of its cosmogony are, with very few exceptions, exceedingly different from those

There are also a variety of stanzas, called Agams, Vanis, &c. composing a very formidable course of study to those who wish to go deep into the doctrine of this school, and one in which the greatest proficient amongst the Kabir Panthis are but imperfectly versed. A few Sakhis, Sabdas, and Rekhtas, with the greater portion of the *Bijak*, constituting their acquirements : these, however, they commit to memory, and quote in argument with singular readiness and happiness of application : the Goshthis, or disputations of Kabir with those opposed to him, as Gorakhnath, Ramanand, and even in spite of chronology with Muhammed himself, are not read till more advanced, whilst the *Sukh Nidhan*, which is the key to the whole, and which has the singularity of being quite clear and intelligible, is only imparted to those pupils whose studies are considered to approach perfection.

The author or compiler of the *Bijak* or *Vijak*, was Bhagodas³¹, one of Kabir's immediate disciples : it is the great authority amongst the Kabir Panthis in general ; it is written in very harmonious verse and with great ingenuity of illustration : its style, however, is more dogmatical than argumentative, and it rather inveighs against other systems than explains its own : in the latter respect it is, indeed, so inexplicit and obscure, that it is perhaps impossible to derive from it any satisfactory conclusion as to the real doctrines of Kabir. The followers of the Sect admit this obscurity and much difference of opinion prevails amongst them in the interpretation of many passages : some of the teachers have a short work professedly written as a key to the most difficult parts, but this is in the hands of a chosen few : it is of no great value, however, as it is little less puzzling than the original, of a few passages of which the following translations will best exemplify the description thus given :

Ramaini the 1st—God, light, sound, and one woman : from these have sprung Hari, Brahma, and Tripurari. Innumerable are the emblems of Siva and Bhavani, which they have established, but they know not their own beginning nor end : a dwelling has been prepared for them : Hari, Brahma, and Siva, are the three headmen, and each has his own village : they have formed the Khandas and the egg of Brahma, and have invented the six Darsanas—and ninety-six Pashandas : no one has ever read the Vedas in the womb, nor has any infant been born a

notions entertained by the followers of Kabir, as explained in the *Bijaks*, or *Sukh Nidhan*. The extract published in the *Mines*, appears to be a portion, the second book, of some work thus described: "Il libro primario dei Cabiristi (Specie di riforma della gentilità,) si chiama *Satnam Kabir*: questo libro e fra le carte di Propaganda."

³¹ Of the shorter work: it is undoubtedly the one most generally current.

member of Islam. 'The woman', relieved from the burden of the embryo, adorned her person with every grace. I and you are of one blood, and one life animates us both ; from one mother is the world born : what knowledge is this that makes us separate? no one knows the varieties of this descent, and how shall one tongue declare them? nay should the mouth have a million of tongues, it would be incompetent to the task. Kabir has said, I have cried aloud from friendship to mankind ; from not knowing the name of Rama, the world has been swallowed up in death.

In this *Ramaini*, the first passage contains an allusion to the notions of the sect regarding the history of creation. God is called Antar, Inner, that which was in all, and in which all was, meaning the first self-existent and all-comprehensive being. Jyotish is the luminous element, in which he manifested himself, and Sabda, the primitive sound or word that expressed his essence—the woman is Maya, or the principle of error and delusion : the next passage relates to the impotence of the secondary gods, and the unnatural character of religious distinctions : "the woman" is Maya, the self-born daughter of the first deity, and at once the mother and wife of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. "I and you, &c." is addressed by her to them, "no one knows, &c." is an allusion to the blindness of all worldly wisdom, and the passage winds up with a word of advice, recommending the worship of Rama, implying the true God, agreeably to the system of Kabir.

The style of the *Bijak* is of this kind : straggling allusions to the deceits of Maya, to the errors of other sects, and the superiority of their own, being strung together with very little method : it will not, however, be necessary to analyse any more of the passages, and they will become clear by reference to the general view of the system, with which we shall be furnished from the *Sukh Nidhan* : it may be sufficient here to observe, that the doctrines of Kabir are said to be conveyed in four-fold language or that of Maya, Atma, *Man* or intellect, and the Vedas.

Ramaini the 6th.—(Maya's account of the first being, and of herself.) What is his colour, form, and shape ; what other person has beheld him ; the Omkara did not witness his beginning, how then can I explain it ; can you say from what root he sprang ; he is neither the stars, nor sun, nor moon ; he has neither father, nor mother : he is neither water, nor earth, nor fire, nor air : what name or description can I give of him : to him is neither day nor night, nor family nor caste ; he resides on the summit of space ; a spark of his substance was once manifest, of which emanation I was the bride ; the bride of that being who needs no other.

Sabda the 56th.—To Ali and Rama we owe our existence, and should, therefore, show similar tenderness to all that live : of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream ; whilst you shed blood you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display : of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart. The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Musalman during the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days that you should venerate but one. If the Creator dwell in Tabernacles, whose residence is the universe ? who has beheld Rama seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the Pilgrim has directed his steps ? The city of Hara is to the east, that of Ali to the west ; but explore your own heart, for there are both Rama and Karim. Who talks of the lies of the Veds and Tebs ; those who understand not their essence. Behold but one in all things, it is the second that leads you astray. Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself. He, whose is the world, and whose are the children of Ali and Ram, He is my Guru, He is my Pir.

The following *Sabda* is peculiarly illustrative of the mystical and unintelligible style of parts of the *Bijak* ; the explanation of the terms is taken from the key above referred to, but the interpreter is, perhaps, the most unintelligible of the two.

Sabda the 69th.—Who is the (1) magistrate of this city, (2) the meat (3) is exposed, and the (4) Vulture sits guarding it, the (5) Rat converted into a (6) boat, and the (7) Cat is in charge of the helm ; the (8) Frog is asleep, and the (9) Snake stands sentinel ; the (10) Ox bears ; the (11) Cow is barren ; and the (12) Heifer is milked thrice a day ; the (13) Rhinoceros is attacked by the (14) Jackal ; very few know the (15) station of Kabir. (16)

Key. 1. *Man* the pride of intellect. 2. The body. 3. The Vedas, or scriptural writings of any sect, which teach the true nature of God. 4. The Pandit, or worldly expounder of divine truths. 5. *Man* or intellect. 6. A mere vehicle for the diffusion of 7. Maya, illusion and falsehood. 8. The Siddha or saint. 9. Paramesvara, the supreme being. 10. Vishnu. 11. Maya or Devi. 12. Paramesvara, the supreme. 13. A holy man. 14. Intellectual or doctrinal pride. 15. The divine nature. 16. God identified with man and nature.

The *Sakhis* of Kabir deserve, perhaps, a more copious exemplification : they are very gradually current even amongst those not his followers ; they contain much curious matter, and they have often been referred to without their character being

duly understood ; there are some thousands of them, which the *Bijak* comprehends between three and four hundred : one hundred will be sufficient, as a specimen of the whole : they are taken with one or two exceptions, from the *Bijak* of the *Kabir Chaura*, in the order in which they occur.

SAKHIS

1. When man springs from the womb, he is void of every care: pass but the sixth day, and he feels the pains of separation.

2. My word is of the word ; hear it, go not astray; if man wishes to know the truth, let him investigate the word.

3. My word is from the first ; the word has been deposited in life ; a basket has been provided for the flowers ; the horse has eaten up the *Ghi*.

4. My word is from the first; meditate on it every moment; you will flourish in the end like the Joar plant, which shows externally but beards and leaves.

5. Without hearing the word, it is utter darkness ; say, whither shall any one go ; without finding the gate-way of the word, man will ever be astray.

6. There are many words, but take the pith of them ; he who takes not the essence, saith Kabir, will live a profitless life.

7. For the sake of the word, some have died, and some have resigned dominion : he who has investigated the word, has done his work.

8. Lay in your provender, and provide your carriage, for if your food fail, and your feet be weary, your life is in the hands of another.

9. Lay in provender sufficient for the road, whilst time yet serves : evening comes on ; the day is flown, and nothing will be provided.

10. Now is the time to prepare, henceforth the path is difficult : the travellers all hasten to purchase where there is neither trade nor market.

11. He who knows what life is will take the essence of his own ; such as it is now, he will not possess it a second time.

12. If you know how mankind pass their lives, you will live according to your knowledge; fetch water for your own drinking, nor demand it from others and drink.

13. Why go about to offer water? there is abundance in every house : when man is really thirsty, he needs no solicitation, but will drink by force.

14. The goose (the world or life) sells pearls ; a gold vessel

is full of them ; but with him who knows not their value, what can be done ?

15. The goose abandons the lake, the body is withered and dry : Kabir has called aloud, here is a path, there is a resting place !

16. The goose abandons the lake, and lodges in a water jar. Kabir calls aloud, repair to your village, nor demolish your habitation.

17. The goose and the paddy-bird are of one colour, and frolic in the same pool : the goose extracts the milk from the water, and the paddy-bird drinks the mire.

18. Why comes the feeble doe to the green pool ; numerous foes lie in wait for her ; how should she escape ?

19. The three worlds form a cage ; vice and virtue spread a net ; life is the prey ; and time the fowler.

20. The half of a *Sakhi* is sufficiently arduous, if duly investigated ; of what avail are the books of the Pandit, or incessant study ?

21. Having combined the five elements, I found one offspring ; now I ask the Pandit, whether life or the word be the greater.

22. Of the five elements, the body was formed : when the body was formed what was done ? subservient to action, it is called life, but by action life is destroyed.

23. The offspring of the elements is called *Man* ; if one element be withdrawn, the whole compound is destroyed.

24. With the five elements is the abode of a great mystery ; when the body is decomposed, has any one found it ? the word of the teacher is the guide.

25. Colour proceeds from colour, yet behold all are but one : of what colour then is life ? think well of this.

26. Life is wakefulness : the word is like Borax, white : who has seen the yellow drop, saith Kabir, that has turned the water of that colour ?

27. There is a mirror in the heart ; but the face is not visible in it : then only will the face be reflected there, when doubleness of heart shall disappear.

28. The dwelling of Kabir is on the peak of a mountain, and a narrow path leads to it, an ant cannot put its foot upon it, but the pious man may drive up an ox.

29. The blind man talks of a district, which he has not seen ; they are possessed of a salt pit, and offer camphor for sale.

30. The road that Sanaka and his brethren, that Brahma,

Vishnu, and Mahesa have travelled, is still traversed by mankind : what advice can I bestow ?

31. The plough ascends the hill ; the horse stops in the village : the bee seeks for honey, where are no flowers : declare the name of the plant.

32. Sandal ! restrain thy fragrance : on the account, the wood is cut down ; the living slay the living, and regard only the dead.

33. The sandal (the soul) is guarded by serpents (passion) ; what can it effect ? every hair is impregnated with venom ; where shall Ambrosia enter ?

34. The seizer (death) lets not go his hold ; though his tongue and beak be scorched : where it deems a dainty, the Chakor devours the burning coals.

35. The Chakor (hill partridge) in its passion for the moon, digests the burning coal, Kabir declares it does not burn him, such is the fervour of his affection.

36. The village is on the top of a mountain, and so is the abode of the stout man. Choose, Kabir, one for your protector, who can really give you an asylum.

37. The crowd has taken the road travelled by the Pandit : Kabir has ascended the steep defile, where lies the abode of Ram.

38. What, ho ! Kabir, descend, together with your car and provender ; your provender will fail, your feet will grow weary, and your life will be in the hands of another.

39. From the contests of swinging and being swung no one has escaped. Gorakh (the founder of the Yogis) was stopped at the city of time ; who shall be called exempt ?

40. Gorakh, enamoured as he was of Rama, is dead ; his body was not burnt : (the Yogis bury the dead,) the flesh has decayed, and is turned to clay, and such rank as the Kauravas enjoy does he obtain (bodily annihilation).

41. The young camel flying from the wood has fallen into the stream ; how shall the animal proclaim its misfortune, who shall learn it ?

42. After a search of many days an empty shrine is raised : the camel's calf has strayed into a pit, and repents its heedlessness, when assistance is far off.

43. Kabir (mankind) has not escaped error, he is seized in various forms : without knowledge of its lord the heart will be but ashes.

44. Although not subject to fine, a heavy fine has been imposed upon the world : it has proved unprofitable : avarice

has disposed of it, the juice of the cane yields both clayed and candied sugar.

45. In the confines of the Malaya Mountain (where Sandal grows) the Palas (*Butea*) tree acquires fragrance ; were the Bamboo to grow there for ages, it would never gain perfume.

46. In the Woods of the Malaya Mountain grow trees of every kind, they may be called Sandal, but they yield not the Sandal of Malaya.

47. Walking, walking still, the feet are weary ; the city is yet far off, a tent is erected by the road side ; say, who is to blame ?

48. The end of the journey is sunset, but night comes on mid-way : it is from the embrace of many lovers that the wanton is barren.

49. Man (the pride of intellect) enquires, when may I be allowed to go ? the heart asks, when shall I go ? the village (truth) that I have been these six months in quest of (investigating the six *Darsanas*, or systems), is not half a mile remote.

50. He has left his dwelling as an Ascetic, and goes to the thickets to practise penance : tired of the *Pan*-box, he beats the betel-vender, and eats pease.

51. When a man (intending, however, here a Yogi) becomes acquainted with the name of Ram, his body becomes a mere skeleton ; his eyes taste no repose ; his limbs retain no flesh.

52. He who sows Ram, never puts forth the buds of wrath : he attaches no value to the valueless ; he knows neither pleasure nor pain.

53. The cut mango will not blossom, the slit ear cannot be reunited ; whose loss is it, if they apply not the philosopher's stone, that Gorakh had ?

54. They have not regarded good advice, but have determined for themselves. Kabir says and cries aloud, the world has passed away like a dream.

55. When fire (evil) burns amidst the ocean (the world), no one sees the smoke : he is conscious of the fire who lighted it, and he who perishes in the flame.

56. The incendiary orders the fire to be kindled, and he who lights it sings his wings : he expiates his own act : the thatch escapes, but the house is burned.

57. When fire (truth) burns in the ocean (the mind), as it burns, it clears away the rubbish (worldly care). Pandits from the east and from the west have died in the discussion.

58. When fire blazes in the ocean, the thatch of the house

falls to pieces. Mankind weep as they resign their breath, and the inestimable jewel is lost.

59. That a drop falls into the ocean, all can perceive ; but that the drop and the ocean are but one, few can comprehend.

60. The poison still remains in the soil, although the latter has been a hundred times sprinkled with ambrosia—man quits not the evil practices to which he has been long addicted.

61. The bellows is applied to the damp wood, which calls aloud with pain : if again it is caught in the blacksmith's forge, it will be burned the second time.

62. The soul that pines in absence, vainly flies to medicaments for relief ; sigh follows sigh : it faints repeatedly and recovers, to exist, restless and distressed.

63. The separated (spirit) is like the moist fuel which smokes and blazes by fits : then only will it be exempted from pain, when all is utterly consumed.

64. An invitation has been issued in metre, and no one has understood the stanza ; fortunate is the scholar who comprehends the word.

65. Take the true word of Kabir to your heart ; the mind has received, but not understood it, although it has been divulged throughout the four ages.

66. If you are a true dealer, open the market of varacity ; keep clean your inward man, and repel oppression to a distance.

67. The house is of wood, fire is all around it ; the Pandit with his learning is burnt : the prudent man makes his escape.

68. Drops fall from heaven on the verdure of Sravan : all the world are Vaishnavas, no one listens to the teacher.

69. The bather dives nor comes up again ; I think within myself, should sleep surprise him in the stream of fascination, what will befall him ?

70. The *Sakhi* (text) is uttered, but not obeyed ; the road is pointed out, but not followed : the stream of fascination sweeps him away ; he finds no place to put his feet.

71. Many there are that talk, but few that take care to be found : let him pass on without regard, who practises not what he professes.

72. One by one, let each be considered, and adhered to, so shall error be stopped : he who is double-faced like a drum, shall he slapped (like a drum) on both cheeks.

73. He who has no check upon his tongue, has no truth in his heart ; keep him not company : he will kill you on the high way.

74. Life has been destroyed by the repeated falsehoods of

the tongue ; it has strayed on the path of pride, and been whirled in the swing of time.

75. Put a check upon the tongue ; speak not much ; associate with the wise ; investigate the words of the teacher.

76. The body is wounded by a spear, the head is broken off, and left in the flesh ; it cannot be extracted without the loadstone : a thousand other stones are of no avail.

77. At first the ascent is difficult, but afterwards the way is easy ; the beauty is behind the curtain, far from the pregnant woman.

78. Worldly existence is the season for reflecting what is the *Yoga* : the season is passing away ; think ye, who have understanding.

79. Doubt has overcome the world, and no one has triumphed over doubt : he will refute doubt, who has investigated the word.

80. The eyes see dimly from incessant babbling, Kabir cries aloud, and says, understand the word that is spoken.

81. Life is the philosopher's stone, the world is of iron : *Parsi* (*Maya*) comes from *Paras* (God), the mintage is of the former.

82. Affection is the garment in which man dresses for the dance : consign yourself hand and foot to him, whose body and soul are truth.

83. In the concavity of the mirror the image is formed : the dog seeing his likeness barks at it till he dies.

84. But as a man viewing his reflexion in a mirror, knows that it and the original are but one, so should he know that *this* element, is but *that* element, and that thus the world proceeds.

85. Kabir cries aloud to his fellows : ascend the sandal ridge ; whether there be a road prepared or not ; what matters it to me ?

86. Truth, provided there be truth in the heart, is the best of all ; there can be no happiness without truth, let man do as he will.

87. Let truth be your rate of interest, and fix it in your heart ; a real diamond should be purchased, the mock gem is waste of capital.

88. Truth is the best of all, if it be known for truth—when truth combines with truth, then a real union is effected.

89. No act of devotion can equal truth ; no crime is so heinous as falsehood ; in the heart where truth abides, there is my abode

90. The net of error catches the heron ; the simpleton falls into the snare : Kabir declares, that *he* will escape the toils, who has discrimination in his heart.

91. Like the harlot companion of the minstrel is life (*Jiv*), associated with intellect (*man*), at his command, she dances various steps, and is never separated from him.

92. This pride of intellect is manifold ; now a swindler, now a thief ; now a liar, now a murderer ; men, sages, gods, have run after it in vain ; its mansion has a hundred gates.

93. The snake of separation has attached itself to the body, and darted its fangs into the heart : into the body of the *Sadh* it finds no admission : prepare yourself for what may happen.

94. How is it possible to reach the city when the guide cannot point out the road ? when the boat is crazy, how shall the passengers get clear of the *Ghat* ?

95. When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar ? when the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well.

96. Yet the master is helpless when the scholar is unapt : it is blowing through a *bamboo*, to teach wisdom to the dull.

97. The instruction of the foolish is waste of knowledge ; a maund of soap cannot wash charcoal white.

98. The tree bears not fruit for itself, nor for itself does the stream collect its waters : for the benefit of others alone does the sage assume a bodily shape.

99. I have wept for mankind, but no one has wept with me ; *he* will join in my tears, who comprehends the word.

130. All have exclaimed, master, master, but to me this doubt arises : how can they sit down with the master, whom they do not know ?

The preceding will serve as exemplifications of the compositions of this school : they are necessarily unsatisfactory, as amongst some hundreds of similar passages the business of selection, when confined to the few admissible in this place, is unavoidably perplexing and incomplete : they are, however, sufficient for the present purpose, as the perusal of the entire work from which they have been selected would not convey any more positive notions of the doctrines of Kabir : these we shall now proceed to state according to the authority of the *Sukh Nidhan*.

The *Sukh Nidhan* is supposed to be addressed by Kabir himself to Dharmadas, his chief pupil, and a follower of Ramanand's doctrines ; it is said to be the work of Srutgopal, the first of Kabir's disciples.

From this authority it appears, that, although the Kabir Panthis have withdrawn, in such a very essential point as worship, from the Hindu communion, they still preserve abundant vestiges of their primitive source ; and that their notions are in substance the same as those of the Pauranic sects, especially of the Vaishnava division. They admit of but one God, the creator of the world, and in opposition to the Vedanta notions of the absence of every quality and form, they assert that he has a body formed of the five elements of matter, and that he has mind endowed with the three Gunas, or qualities of being ; of course of ineffable purity and irresistible power : he is free from the defects of human natures, and can assume what particular shape he will : in all other respects he does not differ from man, and the pure man, the Sadh of the Kabir sect, is his living resemblance, and after death is his associate and equal : he is eternal, without end or beginning, as in fact is the elementary matter of which he consists, and of which all things are made residing in him before they took their present form, as the parts of the tree abide in the seed, or flesh, blood and bone may be considered to be present in the seminal fluid : from the latter circumstance, and the identity of their essential nature, proceeds the doctrine, that God and man are not only the same, but that they are both in the same manner everything that lives and moves and has its being. Other sects have adopted these phrases literally, but the followers of Kabir do not mean by them to deny the individuality of being, and only intend these texts as assertions of all nature originally participating in common elementary principles.

The Paramapurusha was alone for seventy-two ages, for after the Pauraniks the Kabir Panthis maintain successive and endless creations : he then felt a desire to renew the world, which desire became manifest in a female form³², being the *Maya*, from whom all the mistaken notions current amongst mankind originate : with this female the *Adi Bhavani Prakriti* or *Sakti*, the *Paramapurusha*, or first male, cohabits, and begets the Hindu triad, *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva* : he then disappears, and the lady makes advances to her own sons : to their questions of her origin and character, she tells them, she was the bride of the first great invisible being, without shape and void, and whom she describes agreeably to the Vedanta nations ; that she is now at liberty, and being of the same nature as themselves, is a fit associate for them : the deities hesitate, and *Vishnu* especially, putting some rather puzzling queries to *Maya*, secured the respect of the Kabir Panthis, and excited the

³² These notions are common to the whole Hindu system—diversified according to the favourite object of worship, but essentially the same in all sects; we shall have occasion to discuss them more fully under the division *Saktas*, or worshippers of *Sakti*.

wrath of the goddess : she appears as Maha Maya, or Durga, and frightens her sons into a forgetfulness of their real character, assent to her doctrines, and compliance with her desires : the result of this is the birth of Saraswati, Lakshmi and Uma, whom she weds to the three deities, and then establishing herself at Jwlamukhi, leaves the three wedded pairs to frame the universe, and give currency to the different errors of practice and belief which they have learnt from her.

It is to the falsehood of *Maya* and her criminal conduct that the Kabir Panthis perpetually allude in their works, and in consequence of the deities pinning their faith upon her sleeve, that they refuse them any sort of reverential homage : the essence of all religion is to know Kabir in his real form, a knowledge which those deities and their worshippers, as well as the followers of Muhammad, are all equally strange to, although the object of their religion, and of all religions, is the same.

Life is the same in all beings, and when free from the vices and defects of humanity, assumes any material form it pleases : as long as it is ignorant of its source and parent, however, it is doomed to transmigration through various forms, and amongst others we have a new class of them, for it animates the planetary bodies, undergoing a fresh transfer, it is supposed, whenever a star or meteor falls : as to heaven and hell, they are the inventions of *Maya*, and are therefore both imaginary, except that the Swarga of the Hindus, and Bihisht of the Musalmans, imply worldly luxury and sensual enjoyment, whilst the Narak and Jehannam are those cares and pains which make a hell upon earth.

The moral code of the Kabir Panthis is short, but if observed faithfully is of a rather favourable tendency. Life is the gift of God, and must not therefore be violated by his creatures ; Humanity is, consequently, a cardinal virtue, and the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a heinous crime. Truth is the other great principle of their code, as all the ills of the world, and ignorance of God, are attributable to original falsehood. Retirement from the world is desirable, because the passions and desires, the hopes and fears which the social state engenders, are all hostile to tranquillity and purity of spirit, and prevent that undisturbed meditation on man and God which is necessary to their comprehension. The last great point is the usual sum and substance of every sect amongst the Hindus³³, implicit devotion in word, act, and thought to the Guru, or

33 The *Bhagavat* declares the Deity and Guru to be the same:

*acaryam mam vijaniannavamanyate karhicit
na Martyabuddhyasuyeta sarvadevamayo guruh*

Nabhaji declares the Deity, Guru, worshipper, and worship, to be four names and one substance.

OF THE HINDUS

spiritual guide : in this, however, the characteristic spirit of the Kabir Panthis appears, and the pupil is enjoyed to scrutinize his teacher's doctrines and acts, to be first satisfied that he is the sage he pretends to be, before he resigns himself to his control. This sect, indeed, is remarkably liberal in this respect, and the most frequently recurring texts of Kabir are those which enforce an attentive examination of the doctrine, that he offers to his disciples. The chief of each community has absolute authority over his dependents : the only punishments he can award, however, are moral, not physical—irregular conduct is visited by reproof and admonition : if the offender does not reform, the Guru refuses to receive his salutation ; if still incurable, the only further infliction is expulsion from the fraternity.

The doctrine of outward conformity, and the absence of visible objects of worship have prevented this sect from spreading very generally throughout India : it is, however, very widely diffused, and, as I have observed, has given rise to many others, that have borrowed its phraseology, and caught a considerable portion of its spirit : the sect itself is split into a variety of subdivisions, and there are no fewer than twelve branches of it traced up to the founder, between which a difference of opinion as well as descent prevails : the founders of these twelve branches, and the position of their descendants, are the following :

1. Srutgopal Das, the author of *Sukh Nidhan* : his successors preside over the Chaura at Banaras, the Samadhi at Magar, an establishment at Jagannath, and one at Dwaraka.
2. Bhago Das, the author of the *Bijak* : his successors reside at Dhanauti.
3. Narayan Das, and 4. Churaman Das ; these two were the sons of Dharma Das, a merchant of the Kasaundhya tribe, of the Sri Vaishnava sect, and one of Kabir's first and most important converts ; his residence was at Bandho near Jabalpur, where the maths of his posterity long remained : the Mahants were family men, thence termed Vans Gurus : the line of Naryan Das is extinct, and the present successor of Churaman, being the son of a concubine, is not acknowledged as a Mahant by all the other branches.
5. Jaggo Das ; the Gaddi or Pillow at Cuttack.
6. Jivan Das, the lounder of the Satnami sect, to whom we shall again have occasion to advert.
7. Kamal.—Bombay : the followers of this teacher practise the Yoga. Kamal himself is said to have been the son of Kabir, but the only authority for this is a popular and proverbial phrase³⁴.
8. Tak Sali.—Baroda.
9. Jnani.—Majjhni near Sahasram.
10. Saheb Das.—Cuttack : his followers have also some distinct

³⁴ "The Race of Kabir became extinct when his son Kamal was born," Kamal adopting, on principle, a life of celibacy, or being a person of worldly appetites.—Roebuck's *Proverbs*, II, 1, 656.

notions, and form a sect called Mula Panthis. 11. Nityanand. 12. Kamal Nad : these two settled somewhere in the Dekhan, but my informant could not tell me exactly where. There are also some popular, and perhaps local, distinctions of the sect as Hansa Kabiris, Dana Kabiris, and Mangrela Kabiris, but in what respect, except appellation, they differ from the rest has not been ascertained.

Of these establishments the Kabir Chaura, at Banaras, is pre-eminent in dignity, and it is constantly visited by wandering members of the sect, as well as by those of other kindred heresies : its Mahant receives and feeds these visitors whilst they stay, although the establishment has little to depend upon, except the occasional donations of its lay friends and followers. Balvant Singh, and his successor, Cheit Singh were great patrons of it, and the latter granted to the Chaura a fixed monthly allowance. Cheit Singh also attempted to form some estimate of the numbers of the sect, and if we may credit the result, they must be very considerable indeed, as at a grand meeting, or Mela, which he instituted near Banaras, no fewer than 35,000 Kabir Panthis of the Monastic and Mendicant class are said to have been collected. There is no doubt that the Kabir Panthis, both clerical and lay, are very numerous in all the provinces of upper and central India, except, perhaps, in Bengal itself : the quaker-like spirit of the sect, their abhorrence of all violence, their regard for truth, and the inobtrusiveness of their opinions, render them very inoffensive members of the state : their mendicants also never solicit alms, and in this capacity even they are less obnoxious than the many religious vagrants, whom the rank soil of Hindu superstition and the enervating operation of an Indian climate so plentifully engender.

KHAKIS

This division of the Vaishnavas is generally derived, though not immediately, from Ramanand, and is undoubtedly connected in its policy, and practice, with his peculiar followers. The reputed founder is Kil, the disciple of Krishnadas, whom some accounts make the disciple of Asanand, the disciple of Ramanand, but the history of the Khaki sect is not well known, and it seems to be of modern origin, as no notice of it occurs in the *Bhakta Mala*, or in any other work that has been consulted : the sectaries, though believed to be rather numerous, appear to be either confined to a few particular districts, or to lead wholly an erratic life, in which latter character they are confounded with the class of Vairagis : as no written accounts have been procured, and the opportunities of obtaining oral information have been rare and imperfect, a very brief notice of of this sect is all that can here be offered.

The Khakis, as the name implies, are distinguished from the

other Vaishnavas by the application of clay and ashes to their dress or persons : those who reside in fixed establishments generally dress like other Vaishnavas, but those who lead a wandering life go either naked or nearly so, smearing their bodies with the pale grey mixture of ashes and earth, and making, in this state, an appearance very incompatible with the mild and decent character of the Vaishnava sects : the Khakis also frequently wear the Jata, or braided hair, after the fashion of the votaries of Siva, and, in fact, it appears that this sect affords one of the many instances of the imitative spirit common amongst the Hindu polytheists, and has adopted, from the Saivas, some of their characteristic practices, blending them with the preferential adoration of Vishnu, as Raghunath or Rama : the Khakis also worship Sita, and pay particular veneration to Hanuman.

Many Khakis are established about Furukhabad, but their principal seat on this side of India is at Hanumana Garh, near Ayodhya, in Oudh : the Samadhi or spiritual throne of the founder, is said to be at Jaipur : the term Samadhi applied to it, however, would seem to indicate their adopting a like practice with the Yogis, that of burying their dead, as the word is more generally used to express a tomb or mausoleum³⁵.

MALUK DASIS

The Maluk Dasis form another subdivision of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas, of comparatively uncertain origin and limited importance : they are generally traced from Ramanand in this manner : 1. Ramanand, 2. Asanand, 3. Krishna Das, 4. Kil, 5. Maluk Das ; making the last, consequently, contemporary with the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, and placing him in the reign of Akbar, or about 250 years ago.

We had occasion, in the notice taken of Nabhaji, to show that the spiritual genealogy now enumerated could scarcely be correct, for as Ramanand must have flourished prior to the year 1400, we have but three generations between him and the date even of Akbar's succession 1555, or a century and a half : it was then mentioned, however, that according to the *Bhakta Mala*, Krishna Das was not the pupil of Asanand, and consequently

³⁵ The little information given in the text, was obtained from the Superior of a small, but neat establishment on the bank of the river, above Visranta Ghat, at Furukhabad. The Ghat and Math had been recently erected by a merchant of Lucknow: the tenants, three or four in number, were a deputation from Ayodhya, in Oudh, and were but little acquainted with their own peculiarities, although not reluctant to communicate what they knew; other Khakis encountered here were Nagas and Brahmacharis, with whom no satisfactory communication was attainable; there were other establishments, but time did not permit their being visited.

the date of succession was not necessarily uninterrupted : we might therefore place Maluk Das, where there is reason to place Nabhaji, about the end of Akbar's reign, as far as this genealogy is to be depended upon, but there is reason to question even its accuracy, and to bring down Maluk Das to a comparatively recent period : the uniform belief of his followers is indeed sufficient testimony on this head, and they are invariably agreed in making him contemporary with Aurangzeb.

The modifications of the Vaishnava doctrines introduced by Maluk Das, appear to have been little more than the name of the teacher, and a shorter streak of red upon the forehead : in one respect indeed there is an important distinction between these and the Ramanandi ascetics, and the teachers of the Maluk Dasis appear to be of the secular order, Grihasthas, or householders, whilst the others are all coenobites : the doctrines, however, are essentially the same : Vishnu, as Rama, is the object of their practical adoration, and their principles partake of the spirit of quietism, which pervades these sects : their chief authority is the *Bhagavad Gita*, and they read some small Sanskrit tracts, containing the praise of Rama : they have also some Hindi Sakhis, and Vishnu Padas attributed to their founder, as also a work in the same language, entitled the *Dasratan* : the followers of this sect are said to be numerous in particular districts, especially amongst the trading and servile classes, to the former of which the founder belonged³⁶.

The principal establishment of the Maluk Dasis is at Kara Manikpur, the birth-place of the founder, and still occupied by his descendants³⁷ ; the present Mahant is the eighth in descent from him : the series is thus enumerated :

1. Maluk Das. 2. Ramsanahi. 3. Krishnasnahi. 4. Thakur Das. 5. Gopal Das. 6. Kunj Behari. 7. Ramsahu. 8. Seoprasad Das. 9. Ganga Prasad Das, the present Mahant.

The Math at Kara is situated near the river, and comprises the dwellings of the Mahant, and at the time it was visited, of

³⁶ A verse attributed to Maluk Das is so generally current, as to have become proverbial, it is unnecessary to point out its resemblance to Christian texts: "The snake performs no service, the bird discharges no duty. Maluk Das declares, Ram is the giver of all." Roebuck's *Proverbs*, II, 1, 36.

³⁷ There is some variety in the accounts here, Mathura Nath says, the Tomb is at Kara; Puran Das asserts, that it is at Jagannath, and the birth-place at Kara—he has been at both: the establishment at Jagannath is of great repute; it is near to a Math of Kabir Panthis, and all ascetics who go to this place of pilgrimage consider it essential to receive the Maluk Das ka Tukra, from the one, and Kabir ka Tarani, from the other, or a piece of bread and spoonful of sour rice water. This and most of the other particulars were procured for me from the present Mahant by a young officer, Wilton, stationed for a short time at Kara.

fifteen resident Chelas, or disciples, accommodations for numerous religious mendicants who come hither in pilgrimage, and a temple dedicated to Ramachandra : the Gaddi, or pillow of the sect, is here, and the actual pillow originally used by Maluk Das is said to be still preserved. Besides this establishment, there are six other Maths belonging to this sect, at Allahabad, Banaras, Brindavan, Ayodhya, Lucknow, which is modern, having been founded by Gomati Das, under the patronage of Asaf-ud-Daulla, and Jagannath, which last is of great repute as rendered sacred by the death of Maluk Das.

DADU PANTHIS

This class is one of the indirect ramifications of the Ramanandi stock, and is always included amongst the Vaishnava schisms : its founder is said to have been a pupil of one of the Kabir Panthi teachers, and to be the fifth in descent from Ramanand, according to the following genealogy : 1. Kabir. 2. Kamal. 3. Jamal. 4. Vimal. 5. Buddhan. 6. Dadu. The worship is addressed to Rama, but it is restricted to the Japa, or repetition of his name, and the Rama intended is the deity, as negatively described in the Vedanta theology : temples and images are prohibited.

Dadu was a cotton cleaner by profession : he was born at Ahmedabad, but in his twelfth year removed to Sambhar, in Ajmeer : he thence travelled to Kalyanpur, and next removed to Naraina, in his thirty-seventh year, a place four kos from Sambhar, and twenty from Jaipur. When here, he was admonished, by a voice from heaven, to addict himself to a religious life, and he accordingly retired to Baherana mountain, five kos from Naraina, where, after some time, he disappeared, and no traces of him could be found. His followers believe he was absorbed into the deity. If the list of his religious descent be accurate, he flourished about the year 1600, at the end of Akbar's reign, or in the beginning of that of Jehangir. The followers of Dadu wear no peculiar frontal mark nor Mala, but carry a rosary, and are further distinguished by a peculiar sort of cap, a round white cap, according to some, but according to others, one with four corners, and a flap hanging down behind ; which it is essential that each man should manufacture for himself.

The Dadu Panthis are of three classes : the Viraktas, who are religious characters, who go bare-headed, and have but one garment and one water-pot. The Nagas, who carry arms, which they are willing to exercise for hire, and, amongst the Hindu princes, they have been considered as good soldiers. The third class is that of the Vistar Dharis, who follow the occupations of ordinary life. A further sub-division exists in this sect, and the chief branches again form fifty-two divisions,

or Thambas, the peculiarities of which have not been ascertained. The Dadu Panthis burn their dead at dawn, but their religious members not infrequently enjoin, that their bodies, after death, shall be thrown into some field, or some wilderness, to be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, as they say that in a funeral pile insect life is apt to be destroyed.

The Dadu Panthis are said to be very numerous in Marwar and Ajmeer : of the Naga class alone the Raja of Jaipur is reported to entertain as soldiers more than ten thousand : the chief place of worship is at Naraina, where the bed of Dadu, and the collection of the texts of the sect are preserved and worshipped : a small building on the hill marks the place of his disappearance—a Mela, or fair, is held annually, from the day of new moon to that of full moon in Phalgun (February-March) at Naraina. The tenets of the sect are contained in several Bhasha works, in which it is said a vast number of passages from the Kabir writings are inserted, and the general character of which is certainly of a similar nature³⁸. The Dadu Panthis maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Kabir, and are frequent visitors at the Chaura.

[To supply the deficiency alluded to in the note, we reprint from the 6th volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* pp. 484—87, and 750—56, the translation, by G. R. Siddons, of two chapters from one of the granths or manuals of the Dadupanthis. The translator gives (p. 750) the following particulars respecting his visit to one of their Maths :

“When not interested in the subject, I chanced to visit one of the Dadupanthis institutions at a village near Sambhar, and was particularly struck by the contented and severe countenances of the sectaries. There were a Principal and several Professors, which gave the place the appearance of a College. The former occupied a room at the top of the building, and seemed quite absorbed in meditation. The sect is maintained by the admission to it of proselytes, and marriage is, I believe, forbidden ; as also the growing any hair about the face, which gives to the priests the appearance of old women.”

THE CHAPTER ON FAITH

1. Whatever Ram willeth, that, without the least difficulty, shall be ; why, therefore, do ye kill yourselves with grief, when grief can avail you nothing ?

2. Whatsoever hath been made, God made. Whatsoever is to be made, God will make. Whatsoever is, God maketh,—then why do any of ye afflict yourselves ?

³⁸ I had prepared a list of the contents of one of their manuals, and a translation of a few passages, but the Manuscript has been mislaid. The work was lent me for a short time by one of the

3. Dadu sayeth, Thou, oh God ! art the author of all things which have been made, and from thee will originate all things which are to be made. Thou art the maker, and the cause of all things made. There is none other but thee.

4. He is my God, who maketh all things perfect. Meditate upon him in whose hands are life and death.

5. He is my God, who created heaven, earth, hell, and the intermediate space ; who is the beginning and end of all creation ; and who provideth for all.

6. I believe that God made man, and that he maketh every thing. He is my friend.

7. Let faith in God characterize all your thoughts, words, and actions. He who serveth God, places confidence in nothing else.

8. If the remembrance of God be in your hearts, ye will be able to accomplish things which are impracticable. But those who seek the paths of God are few !

9. He who understandeth how to render his calling sinless, shall be happy in that calling, provided he be with God.

10. If he that perfecteth mankind occupy a place in your hearts, you will experience his happiness inwardly. Ram is in every thing ; Ram is eternal.

11. Oh foolish one ! God is not far from you. He is near you. You are ignorant, but he knoweth every thing, and is careful in bestowing.

12. Consideration and power belong to God, who is omniscient. Strive to preserve God, and give heed to nothing else.

13. Care can avail nothing ; it devoureth life : for those things shall happen which God shall direct.

14. He who causeth the production of all living things, giveth to their mouths milk, whilst yet in the stomach. They are placed amidst the fires of the belly : nevertheless they remain unscorched.

15. Oh, forget not, my brother, that God's power is always with you. There is a formidable pass within you, and crowds of evil passions flock to it : therefore comprehend God.

16. Commend the qualities which God possesseth. He gave you eyes, speech, head, feet, mouth, ears, and hands. He is the lord of life and of the world.

sect, who would on no account part with it. The above notice was taken partly from a statement in Hindi, procured at Naraina by Lt. Col. Smith, and partly from verbal information obtained at Banaras. Dahu is not mentioned in the *Bhakta Mala*, but there is some account of him in the *Dabistan*. Engl. translation, II, p. 233.

17. Ye forget God, who was indefatigable in forming every thing, and who keepeth every thing in order ; ye destroy his doctrines. Remember God, for he endued your body with life : remember that beloved one, who placed you in the womb, reared and nourished you.

18. Preserve God in your hearts, and put faith into your minds, so that by God's power your expectations may be realized.

19. He taketh food and employment, and distributeth them. God is near ; he is always with me.

20. In order that he may diffuse happiness, God becometh subservient to all ; and although the knowledge of this is in the hearts of the foolish, yet will they not praise his name.

21. Although the people every where stretch out their hands to God ; although his power is so extensive, yet is he sometimes subservient to all.

22. Oh God, thou art as it were exceeding riches ; thy regulations are without compare, thou art the chief of every world, yet remainest invisible.

23. Dadu sayeth, I will become the sacrifice of the God-head ; of him who supporteth every thing ; of him who is able, in one moment, to rear every description of animal, from a worm even to an elephant.

24. Take such food and raiment as it may please God to provide you with. You require naught besides.

25. Those men who are contented, eat of the morsel which is from God. Oh disciple ! why do you wish for other food, which resembles carrion ?

26. He that partaketh of but one grain of the love of God, shall be released from the sinfulness of all his doubts and actions. Who need cook, or who need grind ? Wherever ye cast your eyes, ye may see provisions.

27. Meditate on the nature of your bodies, which resemble earthen vessels ; and put every thing away from them, which is not allied to God.

28. Dadu sayeth, I take for my spiritual food, the water and the leaf of Ram. For the world I care not, but God's love is unfathomable.

29. Whatever is the will of God, will assuredly happen ; therefore do not destroy yourselves by anxiety, but listen.

30. What hope can those have elsewhere, even if they wandered over the whole earth, who abandon God ? oh foolish one ! righteous men who have meditated on this subject, advise you to abandon all things but God, since all other things are affliction.

31. It will be impossible for you to profit any thing, if you are not with God, even if you were to wander from country to country ; therefore, oh ignorant, abandon all other things, for they are affliction, and listen to the voice of the holy.

32. Accept with patience the offering of truth, believing it to be true ; fix your heart on God, and be humble as though you were dead.

33. He who meditateth on the wisdom which is concealed, eateth his morsel and is without desires. The holy praise his name, who hath no illusion.

34. Have no desires, but accept what circumstances may bring before you ; because whatever God pleaseth to direct, can never be wrong.

35. Have no desires, but eat in faith and with meditation whatever chances to fall in your way. Go not about, tearing from the tree, which is invisible.

36. Have no desires, but take the food which chances to fall in your way, believing it to be correct, because it cometh from God ; as much as if it were a mouthful of atmosphere.

37. All things are exceeding sweet to those who love God ; they would never style them bitter, even if filled with poison ; on the contrary, they would accept them, as if they were ambrosia.

38. Adversity is good, if on account of God ; but it is useless to pain the body. Without God, the comforts of wealth are unprofitable.

39. He that believeth not in the one God, hath an unsettled mind ; he will be in sorrow, though in the possession of riches : but God is without price.

40. The mind which hath not faith, is fickle and unsettled, because, not being fixed by any certainty, it changeth from one thing to another.

41. Whatever is to be, will be : therefore long not for grief nor for joy, because by seeking the one, you may find the other. Forget not to praise God.

42. Whatever is to be, will be : therefore neither wish for heaven nor be apprehensive on account of hell. Whatever was ordained, is.

43. Whatever is to be, will be ; and that which God hath ordained can neither be augmented nor decreased. Let your minds understand this.

44. Whatever is to be, will be ; and nothing else can happen. Accept that which is proper for you to receive, but nothing else.

45. Whatever God ordereth, shall happen, so why do ye vex yourselves ? Consider God as supreme over all ; he is the sight for you to behold.

46. Dadu sayeth, Do unto me, oh God ! as thou thinkest best—I am obedient to thee. My disciples ! behold no other God ; go nowhere but to him.

47. I am satisfied of this, that your happiness will be in proportion to your devotion. The heart of Dadu worshippeth God night and day.

48. Condemn nothing which the creator hath made. Those are his holy servants who are satisfied with them.

49. We are not creators—the Creator is a distinct being ; he can make whatever he desireth, but we can make nothing.

50. Kabir left Banaras and went to Mughor in search of God. Ram met him without concealment, and his object was accomplished.

51. Dadu sayeth, My earnings are God. He is my food and my supporter ; by his spiritual sustenance, have all my members been nourished.

52. The five elements of my existence are contented with one food : my mind is intoxicated ; hunger leaveth him who worshippeth no other but God.

53. God is my clothing and my dwelling. He is my ruler, my body, and my soul.

54. God ever fostereth his creatures ; even as a mother serves her offspring, and keepeth it from harm.

55. Oh God, thou who art the truth, grant me contentment, love, devotion, and faith. Thy servant Dadu prayeth for true patience, and that he may be devoted to thee.

THE CHAPTER ON MEDITATION

Reverence to thee, who art devoid of illusion, adoration of God, obedience to all saints, salutation to those who are pious. To God the first, and the last.

He that knoweth not delusion is my God.

1. Dadu hath said, in water there exists air, and in air water ; yet are these elements distinct. Meditate, therefore, on the mysterious affinity between God and the soul.

2. Even as ye see your countenance reflected in a mirror, or your shadow in the still water, so behold Ram in your minds, because he is with all.

3. If ye look into a mirror, ye see yourselves as ye are, but he in whose mind there is no mirror cannot distinguish evil from good.

4. As the *tīl* plant contains oil, and the flower sweet odour, as butter is in milk, so is God in every thing.

5. He that formed the mind, made it as it were a temple for himself to dwell in ; for God liveth in the mind, and none other but God.

6. Oh ! my friend, recognize that being with whom thou art so intimately connected ; think not that God is distant, but believe that like thy own shadow, He is ever near thee.

7. The stalk of the lotus cometh from out of water, and yet the lotus separates itself from the water ! For why ? Because it loves the moon better.

8. So let your meditations tend to one object, and believe that he who by nature is void of delusion, though not actually the mind, is in the mind of all.

9. To one that truly meditateth, there are millions, who, outwardly only, observe the forms of religion. The world indeed is filled with the latter, but of the former there are very few.

10. The heart which possesseth contentment wanteth for nothing, but that which hath it not, knoweth not what happiness meaneth.

11. If ye would be happy, cast off delusion. Delusion is an evil which ye know to be great, but have not fortitude to abandon.

12. Receive that which is perfect into your hearts, to the exclusion of all besides ; abandon all things for the love of God, for this Dadu declares is the true devotion.

13. Cast off pride, and become acquainted with that which is devoid of sin. Attach yourselves to Ram, who is sinless, and suffer the thread of your meditations to be upon him.

14. All have it in their power to take away their own lives, but they cannot release their souls from punishment ; for God alone is able to pardon the soul, though few deserve his mercy.

15. Listen to the admonitions of God, and you will care not for hunger nor for thirst ; neither for heat, nor cold ; ye will be absolved from the imperfections of the flesh.

16. Draw your mind forth, from within, and dedicate it to God ; because if ye subdue the imperfections of your flesh, ye will think only of God.

17. If ye call upon God, ye will be able to subdue your imperfections and the evil inclinations of your mind will depart from you ; but they will return to you again when ye cease to call upon him.

18. Dadu loved Ram incessantly ; he partook of his spiritual

essence and constantly examined the mirror which was within him.

19. He subdued the imperfections of the flesh, and overcame all evil inclinations ; he crushed every improper desire, wherefore the light of Ram will shine upon him.

20. He that giveth his body to the world, and rendereth up his soul to its Creator, shall be equally insensible to the sharpness of death, and the misery which is caused by pain.

21. Sit with humility at the feet of God, and rid yourselves of the impurities of your bodies. Be fearless and let no mortal qualities pervade you.

22. From the impurities of the body there is much to fear, because all sins enter into it ; therefore let your dwelling be with the fearless and conduct yourselves towards the light of God.

23. For there neither sword nor poison have power to destroy, and sin cannot enter. Ye will live even as God liveth, and the fire of death will be guarded, as it were with water.

24. He that meditateth will naturally be happy, because he is wise and suffereth not the passions to spread over his mind. He loveth but one God.

25. The greatest wisdom is to prevent your minds from being influenced by bad passions, and, in meditating upon the one God. Afford help also to the poor stranger.

26. If ye are humble ye will be unknown, because it is vanity which impelleth us to boast of our own merits, and which causeth us to exult, in being spoken of by others. Meditate on the words of the holy, that the fever of your body may depart from you.

27. For when ye comprehend the words of the holy, ye will be disentagled from all impurities, and be absorbed in God. If ye flatter yourselves, you will never comprehend.

28. When ye have learned the wisdom of the invisible one from the mouth of his priests, ye will be disentangled from all impurities; turn ye round therefore, and examine yourselves well in the mirror which crowneth the lotus.

29. Meditate on that particular wisdom, which alone is able to increase in you the love and worship of God. Purify your minds, retaining only that which is excellent.

30. Meditate on him by whom all things were made. Pandits and Qazis are fools: of what avail are the heaps of books which they have compiled?

31. What does it avail to compile a heap of books ? Let your minds freely meditate on the spirit of God, that they may be enlightened regarding the mystery of his divinity. Wear not away your lives, by studying the Vedas.

32. There is fire in water and water in fire, but the ignorant know it not. He is wise that meditateth on God, the beginning and end of all things.

33. Pleasure cannot exist without pain, and pain is always accompanied with pleasure. Meditate on God, the beginning and end, and remember that hereafter there will be two rewards.

34. In sweet there is bitter, and in bitter there is sweet, although the ignorant know it not. Dadu hath meditated on the qualities of God, the eternal.

35. Oh man ! ponder well ere thou proceedest to act. Do nothing until thou hast thoroughly sifted the intentions.

36. Reflect with deliberation on the nature of thy inclinations before thou allowest thyself to be guided by them ; acquaint thyself thoroughly with the purity of thy wishes, so that thou mayest become absorbed in God.

37. He that reflecteth first, and afterwards proceedeth to act, is a great man, but he that first acteth, and then considereth is a fool whose countenance is as black as the face of the former is resplendent.

38. He that is guided by deliberation, will never experience sorrow or anxiety : on the contrary he will always be happy,

39. Oh ye who wander in the paths of delusion, turn your minds towards God, who is the beginning and end of all things ; endeavour to gain him, nor hesitate to restore your soul, when required, to that abode from whence it emanated.

RAI DASIS

Rai Das was another of Ramanand's disciples, who founded a sect, confined, however, it is said, to those of his own caste, the Chamars, or workers in hides and in leather, and amongst the very lowest of the Hindu mixed tribes : this circumstance renders it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether the sect still exists : the founder must once have enjoyed some celebrity, as some of his works are included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs ; he is there named Ravi Dasa, which is the Sanskrit form of his name : some of his compositions also form part of the collection of hymns and prayers used by that sect at Banaras : there appears to be but little known of him of any authentic character, and we must be contented with the authority of the *Bhakta Mala*, where he makes a rather important figure : the legend is as follows :—

One of Ramanand's pupils was a Brahmachari, whose daily it was to provide the offering presented to the deity : on one of these occasions, the offering consisted of grain, which

the pupil had received as alms from a shop-keeper, who supplied chiefly the butchers with articles of food, and his donation was, consequently, impure : when Ramanand, in the course of his devotions, attempted to fix his mind upon the divinity, he found the task impracticable, and suspecting that some defect in the offering occasioned such an erratic imagination, he enquired whence it had been obtained : on being informed, he exclaimed, *Ha Chamar*, and the Brahmachari soon afterwards dying was born again as Rai Das, the son of a worker in hides and leather.

The infant Rai Das retained the impression left upon his mind by his old master's anger, and refused to take any nourishment : the parents, in great affliction, applied to Ramanand, who, by order of the deity, visited the child, and recognising the person at once whispered into his ear the initiating Mantra : the effect was instantaneous : the child immediately accepted the breast, and thrived, and grew up a pious votary of Rama.

For some time the profits of his trade maintained Rai Das, and left him something to divide amongst the devout ; but a season of scarcity supervening reduced him to great distress, when Bhagavan, in the semblance of a Vaishnava, brought him a piece of the philosopher's stone, and showing him its virtue made him a present of it. Rai Das paid little regard to the donation, replying to the effect of the following Pada, as since versified by Sur Das.

Pada. "A great treasure is the name of Hari to his people : it multiplieth day by day, nor doth expenditure diminish it : it abideth securely in the mansion, and neither by night nor by day can any thief steal it. The Lord is the wealth of Sur Das, what need hath he of a stone ?"

The miraculous stone was thrown aside, and when, thirteen months afterwards, Vishnu again visited his votary, he found no use had been made of it : as this expedient had failed, the deity scattered gold coin in places where Rai Das could not avoid finding it : the discovery of this treasure filled the poor Currier with alarm, to pacify which Krishna appeared to him in a dream, and desired him to apply the money either to his own use or that of the deity, and thus authorised, Rai Das erected a temple, of which he constituted himself the high priest, and acquired great celebrity in his new character.

The reputation of Rai Das was further extended by its attracting a persecution, purposely excited by Vishnu to do honour to his worshipper, the deity well knowing that the enmity of the malignant is the most effective instrument for setting open to the world the retired glory of the pious : he therefore inspired the Brahmans to complain thus to the king.

Sloka (Sanskrit stanza). "Where things profane are revered, where sacred things are profanely administered, there three calamities will be felt, famine, death, and fear³⁹."

A Chamar, oh king, ministers to the Salagram, and poisons the town with his Prasad⁴⁰ ; men and women, every one will become an outcaste ; banish him to preserve the honour of your people.

The king accordingly sent for the culprit, and ordered him to resign the sacred stone. Rai Das expressed his readiness to do so, and only requested the Raja's presence at his delivery of it to the Brahmans, as, he said, if after being given to them it should return to him, they would accuse him of stealing it. The Raja assenting, the Salagram was brought, and placed on a cushion in the assembly. The Brahmans were desired to remove it, but attempted to take it away in vain : they repeated hymns and charms, and read the Vedas, but the stone was immovable. Rai Das then addressed it with this Pada :

Pada. "Lord of Lords, thou art my refuge, the root of Supreme happiness art thou, to whom there is none equal : behold me at thy feet : in various wombs have I abided, and from the fear of death have I not been delivered. I have been plunged in the deceits of sense, of passion, and illusion ; but now let my trust in thy name dispel apprehension of the future, and teach me to place no reliance on what the world deems virtue. Accept, oh God, the devotions of thy slave Rai Das, and be thou glorified as the Purifier of the sinful."

The saint had scarcely finished, when the Salagram and cushion flew into his arms, and the king, satisfied of his holy pretensions, commanded the Brahmans to desist from their opposition. Amongst the disciples of Rai Das was Jhali, the Rani of Chitore : her adopting a Chamar, as her spiritual preceptor, excited a general commotion amongst the Brahmans of her state, and, alarmed for her personal safety, she wrote to Rai Das to request his counsel and aid. He repaired to her, and desired her to invite the Brahmans to a solemn feast : they accepted the invitation, and sat down to the meal provided for them, when between every two Brahmans there appeared a Rai Das. This miraculous multiplication of himself had the desired effect, and from being his enemies and revilers they became his disciples.

39 *apujya yatra pujoyante pujoyapuja vyatikramah
tatra trini pravartante durbhiksham maranam bhayam.*

[See *Panchatantra* III, 202].

40 The Prasad is any article of food that has been consecrated by previous presentation to an idol, after which it is distributed amongst the worshippers on the spot, or sent to persons of consequence at their own houses.

Such are the legends of the *Bhakta Mala*, and whatever we may think of their veracity, their tenor, representing an individual of the most abject class, an absolute outcaste in Hindu estimation, as a tacher and a saint, is not without interest and instruction.

SENA PANTHIS

Sena, the barber, was the third of Ramanand's disciples, who established a separate schism ; the name of which, and of its founder, is possibly all that now remains of it. Sena and his descendants were, for sometime, however, the family-Gurus of the Rajas of Bandhogarh, and thence enjoyed considerable authority and reputation : the origin of this connexion is the subject of a legend in the *Bhakta Mala*.

Sena, the barber of the Raja of Bandhogarh, was a devout worshipper of Vishnu, and a constant frequenter of the meetings of the pious : on one of these occasions, he suffered the time to pass unheeded, when he ought to have been officiating in his tonsorial capacity, and Vishnu, who noticed the circumstance, and knew the cause, was alarmed for his votary's personal integrity. The god, therefore, charitably assumed the figure of Sena, and equipping himself suitably, waited on the Raja, and performed the functions of the barber, much to the Raja's satisfaction, and without detection, although the prince perceived an unusual fragrance about his barber's person, the ambrosial odour that indicated present deity, which he supposed to impregnate the oil used in lubricating his royal limbs. The pretended barber had scarcely departed, when the real one appeared, and stammered out his excuses : his astonishment and the Raja's were alike, but the discernment of the latter was more acute, for he immediately comprehended the whole business, fell at his barber's feet, and elected for his spiritual guide an individual so pre-eminently distinguished by the favour and protection of the deity.

RUDRA SAMPRADAYIS OR VALLABHACHARIS

The sects of Vaishnavas we have hitherto noticed are chiefly confined to professed ascetics, and to a few families originally from the south and west of India, or, as in the case of the Ramavats and Kabir Panthis, to such amongst the mass of society, as are of a bold and curious spirit ; but the opulent and luxurious amongst the men, and by far the greater portion of the women, attach themselves to the worship of Krishna and his consort Radha, either singly, or conjointly, as in the case of Vishnu and Lakshmi, amongst the Ramanujas, and Sita and Ram, amongst the Ramavats. There is, however, another form, which is perhaps more popular still, although much interwoven with the others. This is the Bala Gopala,

the infant Krishna, the worship of whom is very widely diffused amongst all ranks of Indian society, and which originated with the founder of the Rudra Sampradaya sect, Vallabha Acharya ; it is perhaps better known, however, from the title of its teachers, as the religion of the Gokulastha Gosains.

The original teacher of the philosophical tenets of this sect is said to have been Vishnu Swami, a commentator on the texts of the Vedas, who, however, admitted disciples from the Brahmanical caste only, and considered the state of the Sannyasi, or ascetic, as essential to the communication of his doctrines. He was succeeded by Jnana Deva, who was followed by Nama Deva and Trilochana, and they, although whether immediately or not does not appear, by Vallabha Swami, the son of Lakshmana Bhatt, a Tailinga Brahman : this Sannyasi taught early in the sixteenth century : he resided originally at Gokul, a village on the left bank of the Jamuna, about three kos to the east of Mathura : after remaining here sometime, he travelled through India as a pilgrim, and amongst other places he visited, according to the *Bhakta Mala*, the court of Krishna Deva, king of Vijayanagar, apparently the same as Krishna Rayalu, who reigned about the year 1520, where he overcame the Smarta Brahmans in a controversy, and was elected by the Vaishnavas as their chief, with the title of Acharya : hence he travelled to Ujjain, and took up his abode under a Pipal tree, on the banks of the Sipra, said to be still in existence, and designated as his Baithak, or station. Besides this, we find traces of him in other places. There is a Baithak of his amongst the Ghats of Mathura, and about two miles from the fort of Chunar is a place called his well, Acharya kuan, comprising a temple and Math, in the courtyard of which is the well in question ; the saint is said to have resided here sometime. After this peregrination Vallabha returned to Brindavan, where, as a reward for his fatigues and his faith, he was honoured by a visit from Krishna in person, who enjoined him to introduce the worship of Balagopal, or Gopal Lal, and founded the faith which at present exists in so flourishing a condition. Vallabha is supposed to have closed his career in a miracle : he had finally settled at Jethan Ber, at Banaras, near which a Math still subsists, but at length, having accomplished his mission, he is said to have entered the Ganges at Hanuman Ghat, when, stooping into the water, he disappeared : a brilliant flame arose from the spot, and, in the presence of a host of spectators, he ascended to heaven, and was lost in the firmament.

The worship of Krishna as one with Vishnu and the universe dates evidently from the *Mahabharat*⁴¹, and his juvenile

41 The well-known passage in the *Bhagavad Gita* [XI, 26—30], in which Arjuna sees the universe in the mouth of Krishna, establishes this identity.

forms are brought pre-eminently to notice in the account of his infancy, contained in the *Bhagavat*⁴², but neither of these works discriminates him from Vishnu, nor do they recommend his infantine or adolescent state to particular veneration. At the same time some hints may have been derived from them for the institution of this division of the Hindu faith⁴³. In claiming, however, supremacy for Krishna, the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana* is most decided, and this work places Krishna in a heaven, and society exclusively his own, and derives from him all the objects of existence⁴⁴.

According to this authority, the residence of Krishna is denominated Goloka ; it is far above the three worlds, and has, at five hundred millions of Yojanas below it, the separate Lokas of Vishnu and Siva, Vaikuntha, and Kailas. This region is indestructible, whilst all else is subject to annihilation, and in the centre of it abides Krishna, of the colour of a dark cloud, in the bloom of youth, clad in yellow raiment, splendidly adorned with celestial gems, and holding a flute. He is exempt from Maya, or delusion, and all qualities, eternal, alone, and the Paramatma, or supreme soul of the world.

Krishna being alone in the Goloka, and meditating on

42 Particularly in the tenth book, which is appropriated to the life of Krishna. The same subject occupies a considerable portion of the Hari Vamsa section of the *Mahabharat*, of the Patala section of the *Padma Purana*, the fifth section of the *Vishnu Purana*, and the whole of the *Adi Upapurana*.

43 Thus in the Vana Parva of the *Mahabharat* [v. 12895 ff.], Markandeya Muni, at the time of a minor destruction of the world, sees, "amidst the waters, an Indian Fig tree of vast size, on a principal branch of which was a bed ornamented with divine coverings, on which lay a child with a countenance like the moon." The saint, though acquainted with the past, present, and future, cannot recognise the child, who therefore appears of the hue, and with the symbols of Krishna, and desires the sage to rest within his substance from his weary wanderings over the submerged world.

In the *Bhagavat* [X, 3, 9, 10.] it is stated, "Vasudeva beheld that wonderful lotus-eyed child of the hue of a cloud, with four-arms, dressed in a yellow garb, and bearing the weapons, conch shell, club etc. and the Kaustubha jewel, the diadem of Vishnu adorning the neck. His locks were shining with the rays of the costly Vaidurya diamonds which were set in his head and ear ornaments, the jewelled girdle, armlets and bracelets were tinkling as he moved his limbs." The same work describes Yasoda, his adoptive mother, as seeing the universe in the mouth of the child [X, 7, 36, 37, (30, 31, Calcutta edition)].

*prītaprayasya janani rucirasmitam
mukham lalayati rajan jimbhato dadrse idam
kham rodasi jyotiranikamasah suryenduvahnisvasa-
nambudhimsca
dvīpanmagamstadduhitrsrvanani bhutani yani
sthīrajangamani.*

44 [Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 217-37].

the waste of creation, gave origin to a being of a female form endowed with the three Gunas, and thence the primary agent in creation. This was Prakriti, or Maya, and the system so far corresponds with that of the other Vaishnavas, and of the Puranas generally speaking. They having adopted, in fact, the Sankhya system, interweaving with it their peculiar sectarian notions.

Crude matter, and the five elements, are also made to issue from Krishna, and then all the divine beings. Narayana, or Vishnu, proceeds from his right side, Mahadeva from his left, Brahma from his hand, Dharma from his breath, Saraswati from his mouth, Lakshmi from his mind, Durga from his understanding, Radha from his left side. Three hundred millions of Gopis, or female companions of Radha, exude from the pores of her skin, and alike number of Gopas, or companions of Krishna, from the pores of his skin : the very cows and their calves, properly the tenants of Goloka, but destined to inhabit the Groves of Brindavan, are produced from the same exalted source.

In this description of creation, however, the deity is still spoken of as a young man, and the Purana therefore affords only indirect authority in the marvels it narrates of his infancy for the worship of the child. Considering, however, that in this, or in any other capacity, the acts of the divinity are his Lila, or Cycle, there is no essential difference between those who worship him either as a boy or as a man, and any of his forms may be adored by this class of Vaishnavas, and all his principal shrines are to them equally objects of pilgrimage. As the elements and chief agents of creation are thus said to proceed from the person of Krishna, it may be inferred that the followers of this creed adopt the principles of the Vedanta philosophy, and consider the material world as one is substance, although in an illusory manner, with the sureme. Life is also identified with spirit, according to the authority of a popular work⁴⁵ None of the philosophical writings of the chief teachers of this system have been met with.

Amongst other articles of the new creed, Vallabha introduced one, which is rather singular for a Hindu religious innovator or reformer : he taught that privation formed no part of sanctity, and that it was the duty of the teachers and his disciples to worship their deity, not in nudity and hunger, but in costly

⁴⁵ According to the *Vartta*, Vallabha advocated this doctrine with some reluctance, by the especial injunction of the juvenile Krishna: "Then Acharj Ji said, you know the nature of Life, it is full of defects, how can it be combined with you? to which Sri Thakur Ji (Krishna) replied: Do you unite Brahma and Life in what way you will, I shall concur, and thence all its defects will be removed."

apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortification, but in the pleasures of society, and the enjoyment of the world. The Gosains, or teachers, are almost always family men, as was the founder Vallabha ; for after he had shaken off the restrictions of the monastic order to which he originally belonged, he married, by the particular order, it is said, of his new god. The Gosains are always clothed with the best raiment, and fed with the daintiest viands by their followers, over whom they have unlimited influence : part of the connexion between the Guru and teacher being the three-fold Samarpan, or consignment of *Tan*, *Man*, and *Dhan*, body, mind, and wealth, to the spiritual guide. The followers of the order are especially numerous amongst the mercantile community, and the Gosains themselves are often largely engaged, also, in maintaining a connexion amongst the commercial establishments of remote parts of the country, as they are constantly travelling over India on pilgrimage, to the sacred shrines of the sect, and reconcile, upon these occasions, the profits of trade with the benefits of devotion : as religious travellers, however, this union of objects renders them more respectable than the vagrants of any other sect.

The practices of the sect are of a similar character with those of other regular worshippers : their temples and houses have images of Gopal, of Krishna and Radha, and other divine forms connected with this incarnation, of metal chiefly, and not infrequently of gold : the image of Krishna represents a boy, of the dark hue of which Vishnu is always represented : it is richly decorated and sedulously attended ; receiving eight times a day the homage of the votaries. These occasions take place at fixed periods and for certain purposes ; and at all other seasons, and for any other object, except at stated and periodical festivals, the temples are closed and the deity invisible. The eight daily ceremonials are the following :

1. *Mangala* ; the morning levee : the image being washed and dressed is taken from the couch, where it is supposed to have slept during the night, and placed upon a seat about half an hour after sun-rise : slight refreshments are then presented to it, with betel and Pan : lamps are generally kept burning during this ceremony.

2. *Sringara* ; the image having been anointed and perfumed with oil, camphor, and sandal, and splendidly attired, now holds his public court : this takes place about an hour and a half after the preceding, or when four *Gharis* of the day have elapsed.

3. *Gwala* ; the image is now visited, preparatory to his going out to attend the cattle along with the cow-herd ; this

ceremony is held about forty-eight minutes after the last, or when six *Gharis* have passed.

4. *Raja Bhoga* ; held at mid-day, when Krishna is supposed to come in from the pastures, and dine : all sorts of delicacies are placed before the image, and both those and other articles of food dressed by the ministers of the temple are distributed to the numerous votaries present, and not infrequently sent to the dwellings of worshippers of some rank and consequence.

5. *Utthapan* ; the calling up ; the summoning of the god from siesta : this takes place at six *Gharis*, or between two and three hours before sun-set.

6. *Bhoga* ; the afternoon meal about half an hour after the preceding.

7. *Sandhya* ; about sun-set, the evening toilet of the image, when the ornaments of the day are taken off, and fresh unguent and perfume applied.

8. *Sayan* ; retiring to repose : the image, about eight or nine in the evening, is placed upon a bed, refreshments and water in proper vases, together with the betel box and its appurtenances, are left near it, when the votaries retire, and the temple is shut till the ensuing morning.

Upon all these occasions the ceremony is much the same, consisting in little more than the presentation of flowers, perfumes, and food by the priests and votaries, and the repetition, chiefly by the former, of Sanskrit stanzas in praise of Krishna, interspersed with a variety of prostrations and obeisances. There is no established ritual, indeed, in the Hindu religion for general use, nor any prescribed form of public adoration.

Besides the diurnal ceremonials described, there are several annual festivals of great repute observed throughout India : of these, in Bengal and Orissa, the Rath Jatra, or procession of Jagannath in his car, is the most celebrated, but it is rarely held in upper India, and then only by natives of Bengal established in the provinces : the most popular festival at Banaras, and generally to the westward, is the Janmashtami, the nativity of Krishna, on the eighth day of Bhadra (August⁴⁶). Another

⁴⁶ Great difference of practice prevails on occasion of this observance. Krishna was born on the eighth lunar day of the waning moon of Bhadra, at midnight, upon the moon's entrance into Rohini, in commemoration of which a fast is to be held on the day preceding his birth, terminating, as usual, in a feast; but the day of his birth is variously determinable, according to the adoption of the civil, the lunar, or lunar-sydereal computations, and it rarely happens that the eighth lunation comprises the same combination of hours and planetary positions, as occurred at Krishna's birth. Under these circumstances, the followers

is the Ras Yatra, or annual commemoration of the dance of the frolicsome deity with the sixteen Gopis. This last is a very popular festival, and not an uninteresting one : vast crowds, clad in their best attire, collecting in some open place in the vicinity of the town, and celebrating the event with music, singing, and dramatic representations of Krishna's sports : all the public singers and dancers lend their services on this occasion, and trust for a remuneration to the gratuities of the

of the Smriti, with the Saivas and Saktas, commence their fast with the commencement of the lunation, whenever that takes place; the Ramanujas and Madhwas observe such part of the eighth day of the moon's age as includes sun rise, and forms the eighth day of the calendar, or civil day, whilst some of the Ramanujas, and the Nimawats regulate the duration of their fast by the moon's passage through the asterism Rohini. The consequence is, that the Smartas often fast on the 7th, one set of Vaishnavas on the 8th, and another on the 9th, whilst those who affect great sanctity sometimes go thirty hours without food; an extract from last year's calendar will very well exemplify these distinctions.

3rd Bhadra, 17th August 1825, Tuesday, Saptami, 10 Dandas 17 Palas. The Janmashtami Vrata and a Fast.

4th Bhadra, 18th August, Wednesday, Ashtami, 9 Dandas 18 Palas. Fast according to the Vaishnavas of Braj.

5th Bhadra, 19th August, Thursday, Navami, 7 Dandas 4 Palas. Rohini Nakshatra, till 10 Dandas 52 Palas, at which hour Parana, the end of the fast.

Now the 3rd day of the Solar Bhadra was the 7th of the Lunar Month, but it comprised little more than ten Dandas or four hours of that lunation: as it included sun-rise, however, it was the 7th of the calendar, or civil day. The eighth Tithi, or lunation, therefore, began about that time, or four hours after sun-rise, and the Smartas, Saivas, and Saktas observed the fast on that day; they began with sun-rise, however, as there is a specific rule for the Sankalpa, or pledge, to perform the usual rite at dawn. This Ashtami comprised midnight, and was the more sacred on that account.

The 4th of Bhadra was the Ashtami, or eighth of the Vaishnavas, although the lunation only extended to 9 Dandas, or less than four hours after sun-rise, but they are particularly enjoined to avoid the Saptami, or the Ashtami conjoined with it, and therefore they could not commence their fast earlier, although they lost thereby the midnight of the eighth lunation, which they were, consequently, compelled to extend into the night of the ninth. They fasted till the next morning, unless they chose to eat after midnight, which, on this occasion, is allowable.

The 5th of Bhadra was the Navami, or ninth of the calendar, but it included a portion of the moon's passage through Rohini, and the strict Vaishnavas of the different sects should not have performed the Parana, the close of the fast, earlier, or before 10 Dandas and 52 Palas after sun-rise, or about nine o'clock. Those Vaishnavas, however, who wholly regulate their observance by the Asterism, and referring also to the necessity of commencing it with sun-rise, would only have begun their fast on the calendar Navami, and have held the Parana on Friday the 10th, the third day after the proper birth-day of their deity.

spectators : at Banaras the Ras Yatra is celebrated at the village of Sivapur, and the chief dancers and musicians, ranging themselves under the banners of the most celebrated of the profession, go out in formal procession : tents, huts, and booths are erected, swings and roundabouts form a favourite amusement of the crowd, and sweetmeats and fruits are displayed in tempting profusion : the whole has the character of a crowded fair in Europe, and presents, in an immense concourse of people, an endless variety of rich costume, and an infinite diversity of picturesque accompaniment, a most lively and splendid scene. The same festival is held from the tenth day of the light half of Kuar (September-October) to the day of the full moon at Brindavan, where a stone platform, or stage, has been built for the exhibition of the mimic dance in a square near the river side. Besides their public demonstrations of respect, pictures and images of Gopala are kept in the houses of the members of the sect, who, before they sit down to any of their meals, take care to offer a portion to the idol. Those of the disciples who have performed the triple Samarpana eat only from the hands of each other ; and the wife or child that has not exhibited the same mark of devotion to the Guru can neither cook for such a disciple nor eat in his society.

The mark on the forehead consists of two red perpendicular lines meeting in a semicircle at the root of the nose, and having a round spot of red between them. The Bhaktas have the same marks as the Sri Vaishnavas on the breasts and arms, and some also make the central spot on the forehead with a black earth, called Syamabandi, or any black metallic substance : the necklace and rosary are made of the stalk of the Tulasi. The salutations amongst them are Srikrishna and Jaya Gopal.

The great authority of the sect is the *Bhagavat*, as explained in the Subodhini, or Commentary of Vallabhacharya : he is the author also of a Bhashya on part of Vyasy's Sutras, and of other Sanskrit works, as the *Siddhanta Rahasya*, *Bhagavata Lila Rahasya*, and *Ekanta Rahasya* ; these, however, are only for the learned, and are now very rare. Amongst the votaries in general, various works upon the history of Krishna are current, but the most popular are the *Vishnu Padas*, stanzas in Bhasha, in praise of Vishnu, attributed to Vallabha himself ; the *Braj Bilas*, a Bhakha poem of some length, descriptive of Krishna's life, during his residence at Brindavan, by Braj Vasi Das ; the *Ashta Chhap*, an account of Vallabha's eight chief disciples, and the *Vartta*, or *Bartta*, a collection in Hindustani of marvellous and insipid anecdotes of Vallabha and his primitive followers, amounting to the number of eighty-four, and including persons of both sexes, and every class of Hindus. The *Bhakta Mala* also contains a variety of legends regarding the

different teachers of this sect, but it is less a text-book with this sect than any other class of Vaishnavas, as the Vartta occupies its place amongst the worshippers of Gopal. The following are specimens of this work, and by no means the most unfavourable :

Damodar Das, of Kanoj, was a disciple of Sri Acharya (Vallabhacharya). Like the rest of the members of this sect, he had an image of Krishna in his house. One day it was exceedingly hot, and when night came, Sri Thakur ji (the image) woke the maid servant, and desired her to open the doors of his chamber, as it was very warm. She obeyed, and taking a pankha, fanned him—Early in the morning, Damodar Das observed the doors of the chamber open, and enquired how this had happened : the girl mentioned the circumstance, but her master was much vexed that she had done this, and that Sri Thakur ji had not called him to do it. Sri Thakur ji knowing his thoughts said : I told her to open the doors, why are you displeased with her ? you shut me up here in a close room, and go to sleep yourself on an open and cool terrace. Then Damodar Das made a vow, and said : I will not taste consecrated food until I have built a new temple, but his wife advised him, and urged : this is not a business of five or six days, why go without the consecrated food so long ? Then he said : I will not partake of the consecrated sweetmeats, I will only eat the fruits. And so he did, and the temple was completed, and Sri Thakur ji was enshrined in it, and Damodar Das distributed food to the Vaishnavas, and they partook thereof.

Sri Thakur ji had a faithful worshipper in a Mahratta lady, whom, with the frolicsomeness of boyhood, he delighted to tease. One day, a woman selling vegetables having passed without the Bai noticing her, Sri Thakur ji said to her : will you not buy any vegetables for me to-day ? she replied : whenever any one selling them comes this way, I will buy some ; to which he answered : one has just now passed. The Bai replied : no matter, if one has gone by, another will presently be here. But this did not satisfy the little deity, who leaping from his pedestal ran after the woman, brought her back, and, after haggling for the price with her himself, made his protectress purchase what he selected.

As Ranavyas and Jagannath, two of Vallabhacharya's disciples, were bathing, a woman of the Rajput caste came down to the river to burn herself with her husband ; on which Jagannath said to his companion : what is the fashion of a woman becoming a Sati ? Ranavyas shook his head, and said : the fruitless union of beauty with a dead body. The Rajputani observing Ranavyas shake his head, her purpose at that moment

was changed, and she did not become a Sati, on which her kindred were much pleased. Some time afterwards, meeting with the two disciples, the Rajputani told them of the effect of their former interview, and begged to know what had passed between them. Ranavyas being satisfied that the compassion of Sri Acharj was extended to her, repeated what he had said to Jagannath, and his regret that her charms should not be devoted to the service of Sri Thakur ji, rather than be thrown away upon a dead body. The Rajputani enquired how the service of Thakur ji was to be performed, on which Ranavyas, after making her bathe, communicated to her the initiating prayer, and she thenceforth performed the menial service of the deity, washing his garments, bringing him water, and discharging other similar duties in the dwelling of Ranavyas with entire and fervent devotion, on which account she obtained the esteem of Sri Achraj, and the favour of the deity.

Ram Das was married in his youth, but adopting ascetic principles, he refused to take his wife home : at last his father-in-law left his daughter in her husband's dwelling, but Ram Das would have nothing to say to her, and set off on a pilgrimage to Dwaraka : his wife followed him, but he threw stones at her, and she was compelled to remain at a distance from him. At noon he halted and bathed the god, and prepared his food, and presented it, and then took the Prasad and put it in a vessel, and fed upon what remained, but it was to no purpose, and he was still hungry. Thus passed two or three days, when Ranachhor appeared to him in a dream, and asked him why he thus illtreated him wife. He said, he was Virakta (a coenobite), and what did he want with a wife. Then Ranachhor asked him, why he had married, and assured him that such an unsocial spirit was not agreeable to Sri Acharya, and desired him to take his wife unto him ; for Ranachhor could not bear the distress of the poor woman, as he has a gentle heart, and his nature has been imparted to the Acharya and his disciples. When morning came, Ram Das called to his wife, and suffered her to accompany him, by which she was made happy. When the time for preparing their food arrived, Ram Das prepared it himself, and after presenting the portion to the image, gave a part of it to his wife. After a few days Ranachhor again appeared, and asked him, why he did not allow his wife to cook, to which Ram Das replied, that she had not received the initiating name from Sri Acharya, and was, therefore, unfit to prepare his food. Ranachhor, therefore, directed him to communicate the Nam (the name) to his wife, and, after returning to the Acharya, get him to repeat it. Accordingly Ram Das initiated his wife, and this being confirmed by the Acharya, she also became his disciple, and, with her husband, assiduously worshipped Sri Thakur ji.

Vallabha was succeeded by his son Vitala Nath, known amongst the sect by the appellation of Sri Gosain Ji, Vallabha's designation being Sri Acharj Ji. Vitala Nath, again, had seven sons, Girdhari Rae, Govind Rae, Bala Krishna, Gokul Nath, Raghunath, Yadunath, Ghanasyama ; these were all teachers, and their followers, although in all essential points the same, form as many different communities. Those of Gokulnath, indeed, are peculiarly separate from the rest, looking upon their own Gosains as the only legitimate teachers of the faith, and withholding all sort of reverence from the persons and Maths of the successors of his brethren : an exclusive preference that does not prevail amongst the other divisions of the faith, who do homage to all the descendants of all Vitala Nath's sons.,

The worshippers of this sect are very numerous and opulent, the merchants and bankers, especially those from Guzarat and Malwa, belonging to it : their temples and establishments are numerous all over India, but particularly at Mathura and Brindavan, the latter of which alone is said to contain many hundreds, amongst which are three of great opulence. In Banaras are two temples of great repute and wealth, one sacred to Lal ji and the other to Purushottama ji⁴⁷. Jagannath and Dwaraka are also particularly venerated by this sect, but the most celebrated of all the Gosain establishments is at Sri Nath Dwar, in Ajmir. The image at this shrine is said to have transported itself thither from Mathura, when Aurangzeb ordered the temple it was there placed in to be destroyed. The present shrine is modern, but richly endowed, and the high priest, a descendant of Gokul Nath, a man of great wealth and importance⁴⁸. It is a matter of obligation with the members of this sect to visit Sri Nath Dwar at least once in their lives ; they receive there a certificate to that effect, issued by the head Gosain, and, in return, contribute according to their means to the enriching of the establishment : it is not an uncurious feature in the notions of this sect, that the veneration paid to their Gosains is paid solely to their descent, and unconnected with any idea of their sanctity or learning : they are not infrequently destitute of all pretensions to individual respectability, but they none the less enjoy the homage of their followers ; the present chief, at Srinath Dwar, is said not to understand the certificate he signs.

MIRA BAIS

These may be considered as forming a subdivision of the preceding, rather than a distinct sect, although, in the adoption of

⁴⁷ Many of the bankers of this city, it is said, pay to one or other of the temples a tax of one-fourth of an anna, on every bill of exchange, and the cloth merchants, half an anna on all sales.

⁴⁸ Every temple is said to have three places of offering: the image, the pillow of the founder, and a box for Sri Nath Dwar.

a new leader, and the worship of Krishna under a peculiar form, they differ essentially from the followers of Vallabha : at the same time it is chiefly amongst those sectarians, that Mira Bai and her deity, Ranachhor, are held in high veneration, and, except in the west of India, it does not appear that she has many immediate and exclusive adherents.

Mira Bai is the heroine of a prolix legend in the *Bhakta Mala*, which is a proof at least of her popularity : as the author of sacred poems addressed to the deity, as Vishnu, she also enjoys a classical celebrity, and some of her odes are to be found in the collections which constitute the ritual of the deistical sects, especially those of Nanak and Kabir : according to the authority cited, she flourished in the time of Akbar, who was induced by her reputation to pay her a visit, accompanied by the famous musician Tan Sen, and it is said, that they both acknowledged the justice of her claim to celebrity.

Mira was the daughter of a petty Raja, the sovereign of a place called Merta : she was married to the Rana of Udaipur, but soon after being taken home by him quarrelled with her mother-in-law, a worshipper of Devi, respecting compliance with the family adoration of that goddess, and was, in consequence of her persevering refusal to desert the worship of Krishna, expelled from the Rana's bed and palace: she appears to have been treated, however, with consideration, and to have been allowed an independent establishment, owing, probably, rather to the respect paid to her abilities, than a notion of her personal sanctity, although the latter was attested, if we may believe our guide, by her drinking unhesitatingly a draught of poison presented to her by her husband, and without its having the power to do her harm. In her uncontrolled station she adopted the worship of Ranachhor, a form of youthful Krishna; she became the patroness of the vagrant Vaishnavas, and visited in pilgrimage Brindavan and Dwaraka : whilst at the latter, some persecution of the Vaishnavas at Udaipur appears to have been instituted, and Brahmans were sent to bring her home from Dwaraka : previously to departing, she visited the temple of her tutelary deity, to take leave of him, when, on the completion of her adorations, the image opened, and Mira leaping into the fissure, it closed, and she finally disappeared. In memory of this miracle it is said, that the image of Mira Bai is worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Ranachhor. The *Padas* that induced this marvel, and which are current as the compositions of Mira Bai⁴⁹, are the two following :

Pada 1.—Oh, sovereign Ranachhor, give me to take Dwaraka my abode : with thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus, dispel the fear of Yama : eternal rest is visiting thy sacred shrines ;

49 [Price's *Hindee and Hindustanee Selections*, I, p. 99. 100.]

supreme delight is the clash of thy shell and cymbals : I have abandoned my love, my possessions, my principality, my husband. Mira, thy servant, comes to thee for refuge, oh, take her wholly to thee.

Pada 2.—If thou knowest me free from stain, so accept me : save thee, there is none other that will show me compassion : do thou, then, have mercy upon me : let not weariness, hunger, anxiety, and restlessness consume this frame with momentary decay, Lord of Mira, Girdhara her beloved, accept her, and never let her be separated from thee.

BRAHMA SAMPRADAYIS OR MADHAVACHARIS

This division of the Vaishnavas is altogether unknown in Gange-tic Hindusthan. A few individuals belonging to it, who are natives of southern India, may be occasionally encountered, but they are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct community, nor have they any temple or teachers of their own. It is in the peninsula, that the sect is most extensively to be found⁵⁰, and it is not comprised, therefore, in the scope of this sketch : as, however, it is acknowledged to be one of the four great Sampradayas, or religious systems, such brief notices of it as have been collected will not be wholly out of place.

The institution of this sect is posterior to that of the Sri Vaishnavas, or Ramanujas : the founder was Madhavacharya⁵¹, a Brahman, the son of Madhiga Bhatta, who was born in the Saka year 1121 (A.D 1199) in Tuluva : according to the legendary belief of his followers, he was an incarnation of Vayu, or the god of air, who took upon him the human form by desire of Narayana, and who had been previously incarnate as Hanuman, and Bhima, in preceding ages. He was educated in the convent established at Anantesvar, and in his ninth year was initiated into the order of Anachorets by Achyuta Pracha, a descendant of Sanaka, son of Brahma. At that early age also he composed his Bhashya, or commentary on the *Gita*, which he carried to Badarikashrama, in the Himalaya, to present to Vedavyasa, by whom he was received with great respect, and presented with three Salagams, which he brought back and established as objects of worship in the Maths of Udupi, Madhyatala, and Subrahmanya—he also erected and consecrated at Udupi the image of Krishna, that was originally made by Arjuna, of which he became miraculously possessed.

50[Graul's *Reise nach Ostindien*. Leipzig: 1855. Vol. IV, p. 139.]

51 In the *Sarvādarsana Sangraha* he is cited by the name Purna Prajna—a work is also quoted as written by him under the name of *Madhya Mandira*. Reference is also made to him by the title, most frequently found in the works ascribed to him, of *Ananda Tirtha* [*Sarvad. Sangr.* p. 73.].

A vessel from Dwaraka, trading along the Malabar coast, had taken on board, either accidentally or as ballast, a quantity of Gopichandana, or the sacred clay, from that city, in which the image was immersed : the vessel was wrecked off the Coast of Tuluva, but Madhava receiving divine intimation of the existence of the image had it sought for, and recovered from the place where it had sunk⁵², and established it as the principal object of his devotion at Udipi, which has since continued to be the head quarters of the sect. He resided here for some time himself, and composed, it is said, thirty-seven works⁵³. After some time he went upon a controversial tour, in which he triumphed over various teachers, and amongst others, it is said, over Sankara Acharya—he finally, in his 79th year, departed to Badarikasrama, and there continues to reside with Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and Puranas.

Before his relinquishing charge of the shrine he had established, Madhavacharya had very considerably extended his followers, so that he was enabled to establish eight different temples, in addition to the principal temple, or that of Krishna, at Udipi : in these were placed images of different forms of Vishnu⁵⁴, and the superintendence of them was entrusted to the brother of the founder, and eight Sannyasis, who were Brahmans, from the banks of the Godavari. These establishments still exist, and, agreeably to the code of the founder, each Sannyasi, in turn, officiates as superior of the chief station at Udipi for two years, or two years and a half. The whole expense of the establishment devolves upon the superior for the time being, and, as it is the object of each to outvie his predecessor, the charges⁵⁵ are much heavier than the receipts of the institution, and, in order to provide for them, the Sannyasis employ the intervals of their temporary charge in travelling about the country, and levying contribution on their lay votaries, the amount of which is frequently very large, and is appropriated for the greater part to defray the costs of the occasional pontificate.

52 This story is rather differently told by Colin Mackenzie in his account of the Madras Gurus, published in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804.

53 The principal of these are—the *Gita Bhashya*, *Sutra Bhashya*, *Rig-bhashya*, *Dasopanishad Bhashya*—*Anuvakanunaya Vivarna*, *Anuvedanta Rasa Prakarana*, *Bharata Tatparya Nir-naya*, *Bhagavata-tatparya*, *Gitatatparya*, *Krishnamrita Maharnava*, *Tantra Sara*. [See Burnouf, *Bhagav. Pur.*, I, LIX.]

54 1. Rama with Sita.—2. Sita and Lakshmana.—3. Kaliya Mardana, with two arms.—4. Kaliya Mardana, with four arms.—5. Suvitata.—6. Sukara.—7. Nrisinha.—8. Vasanta Vitata.

55 Buchanan states them at 13,000 Rupees at least, and often exceeding 20,000.

The eight Maths are all in Tuluva, below the Ghats⁵⁶ but, at the same time, Madhavacharya authorised the foundation of others above the Ghats under Padmanabha Tirtha, to whom he gave images of Rama, and the Vyasa Salagram, with instructions to disseminate his doctrines, and collect money for the use of the shrine at Udipi : there are four establishments under the descendants of this teacher above the Ghats, and the superiors visit Udipi from time to time, but never officiate there as pontiffs.

The superiors, or Gurus, of the Madhava sect, are Brahmans and Sannyasis, or profess coenobitic observances : the disciples, who are domesticated in the several Maths, profess also perpetual celibacy. The lay votaries of these teachers are members of every class of society, except the lowest, and each Guru has a number of families hereditarily attached to him, whose spiritual guidance he may sell or mortgage to a Brahman of any sect.

The ascetic professors of Madhavacharya's school adopt the external appearance of Dandis, laying aside the Brahmanical cord, carrying a staff and a waterpot, going bare-headed, and wearing a single wrapper stained of an orange colour with an ochry clay : they are usually adopted into the order from their boyhood, and acknowledge no social affinities nor interests. The marks common to them, and the lay votaries of the order, are the impress of the symbols of Vishnu upon their shoulders and breasts, stamped with a hot iron, and the frontal mark, which consists of the perpendicular lines made with Gopichandana, and joined at the root of the nose like that of the Sri Vaishnavas; but instead of a red line down the centre, the Madhavacharis make a straight black line with the charcoal from incense offered to Narayana, terminating in a round mark made with turmeric.

The essential dogma of this sect, like that of the Vaishnavas in general, is the identification of Vishnu with the Supreme Spirit, as the pre-existent cause of the universe⁵⁷, from whose substance the world was made⁵⁸. This primeval Vishnu they also affirm to be endowed with real attributes⁵⁹, most excellent, although indefinable and independent. As there is one independent, however, there is also one dependent, and this doctrine is the characteristic dogma of the sect, distinguishing its professors from the followers of Ramanuja as well as Sankara, or those

⁵⁶ They are at Kanur, Pejavar, Admar, Phalamar, Krishnapur, Sirur, Sode, and Putti.

⁵⁷ In proof of these doctrines they cite the following texts from the Sruti, or Vedas: "Narayana alone was; not Brahma nor Sankara." "Happy and alone before all was Narayana the Lord."

⁵⁸ "The whole world was manifest from the body of Vishnu."

⁵⁹ "Vishnu is independent, exempt from defects, and endowed with all good qualities."—*Tattwa Vivek*.

who maintain the qualified or absolute unity of the deity. The creed of the Madhavas is Dwaita, or duality⁶⁰. It is not, however, that they discriminate between the principles of good and evil, or even the difference between spirit and matter, which is the duality known to other sects of the Hindus. Their distinction is a more subtle character, and separates the Jivatma from the Paramatma, or the principle of life from the Supreme Being. Life, they say, is one and eternal, dependent upon the Supreme, and indissolubly connected with, but not the same with him⁶¹. An important consequence of this doctrine is the denial of Moksha, in its more generally received sense, or that of absorption into the universal spirit, and loss of independent existence after death. The Yoga of the Saivas, and Sayujyam of the Vaishnavas, they hold to be impracticable⁶².

The Supreme Being resides in Vaikuntha, invested with ineffable splendour, and with garb, ornaments, and perfumes of celestial origin, being the husband also of Lakshmi, or glory, Bhumi, the earth, and Nila, understood to mean Devi, or Durga, or personified matter. In his primary form no known qualities can be predicated of him, but when he pleases to associate with Maya, which is properly his desire, or wish, the three attributes of purity, passion, or ignorance, or the Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas Gunas, are manifested. as Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva, for the creation, protection, and destruction of the world. These deities, again, perform their respective functions through their union with the same delusive principle to which they owed their individual manifestation. This account is clearly allegorical, although the want of some tangible objects of worship has converted the shadows into realities, and the allegory, when adapted to the apprehensions of ordinary intellects, has been converted into the legend known to the followers of Kabir, of the Supreme begetting the Hindu Triad by Maya, and her subsequent union with her sons⁶³. Other legends are current

60 "Independent and dependent is declared to be the two-fold condition of being."—*Tattwa Vivek. Svatantramasvatantram cha dwividham tattvamishyatey.* [*Sarvadarsana Sangraha*, p. 61.].

61 "As the bird and the string, as juices and trees, as rivers and oceans, as fresh water and salt, as the thief and his booty, as man and objects of sense, so are God and Life distinct, and both are ever indefinable."—*Mahopanishad*:

62 In confirmation of which they adduce texts from the Puranas and Vedas:

"From the difference between Omniscience and partial knowledge, Omnipotence and inferior power, supremacy and subservience, the union of God and Life cannot take place."—*Garuda Purana*: "Spirit is Supreme, and above qualities; Life is feeble and subordinate."—*Bhallaaveya Upanishad*.

63 Col. Mackenzie, in his account of the sect, gives this legend in a different and rather unusual form, and one that indicates some relation to the Saiva sects. It is not, however, admitted as orthodox by these members of the sect whom I have

amongst the Madhavas, founded on this view of the creation, in which Brahma and Siva and other divinities are described as springing from his mind, his forehead, his sides, and other parts of his body. They also receive the legends of the Vaishnava Puranas, of the birth of Brahma from the Lotus, of the navel of Vishnu, and of Rudra from the tears shed by Brahma on being unable to comprehend the mystery of creation.

The modes in which devotion to Vishnu is to be expressed are declared to be three, Ankana, Namakarana, and Bhajana, or marking the body with his symbols⁶⁴, giving his names to children, and other objects of interest, and the practice of virtue in word, act, and thought. Truth, good council, mild speaking, and study belong to the first: liberality, kindness, and protection, to the second, and clemency, freedom from envy, and faith, to the last. These ten duties form the moral code of the Madhavas⁶⁵.

encountered, nor do any traces of it appear in the works consulted.

"The Lord of the Creation, by whose supremacy the world is illuminated, and who is infinitely powerful, creating and destroying many worlds in a moment, that Almighty Spirit, in his mind, contemplating the creation of a world for his pleasure, from his wishes sprung a goddess, named Itcha Sakti; at her request, he directed her to create this world. Then the Sakti, by the authority of God, immediately created three divine persons, generally called by Hindus the *Murâ-trium*, by their several names of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, committing to them, separately, their respective charges in the expected world; Sristi, Sthiti, and Sayom, or the power of creating, nourishing, and destroying. When she had made these three lords, she requested of one after the other, that they might be her consort; but Brahma and Vishnu, disapproving of her request, she consumed them with the fire of her third eye, and proposed the same thing to Siva; then Sadaseeva, considering in his mind that her demands were not agreeable to the divine law, replied that he could not be her consort, unless she granted her third eye to him. The goddess was pleased with his prudence, and adorned him with her third eye. So soon as Siva was possessed of that, he immediately destroyed her by a glance of the flaming eye, and revived Brahma and Vishnu, and of her ashes made three goddesses, Saraswati, Lakshmi, and Parvati, and united one of them to each of the Trimurti."

(*Account of the Marda Gooroos.—Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804.)

This legend is probably peculiar to the place where it was obtained, but the ideas and the notions adverted to in the text appear to have been misunderstood by Buchanan, who observes, that the Mardas believe in the generation of the gods, in a literal sense, thinking Vishnu to be the Father of Brahma, and Brahma the Father of Siva.—*Mysore*, Vol. I, 14.

64 Especially with a hot iron, which practice they defend by a text from the Vedas. Whose body, is not cauterised, does not obtain liberation. *atraptatanurua tadâ mokshamasnute* [*Sarva Darsana Samgraha* p. 64.] To which, however, *Sankaracharya* objects, that *Tapta* does not mean cauterised, but purified with *Tapas*, or ascetic mortification.—

65 *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, p. 65.

The usual rites of worship⁶⁶, as practiced by the Vaishnavas of this sect, are observed, and the same festivals. In the Puja, however, there is one peculiarity which merits notice as indicative of a friendly leaning towards the Saiva sects: the images of Siva, Durga, and Ganesa are placed on the same shrine with the form of Vishnu, and partake in the adoration offered to his idol. Rites are conducive to final happiness only, as they indicate a desire to secure the favour of Vishnu. The knowledge of his supremacy is essential to the zeal with which his approbation may be sought, but they consider it unnecessary to attempt an identification with him by abstract meditation, as that is unattainable⁶⁷.—Those who have acquired the regard of Vishnu are thereby exempted from future birth, and enjoy felicity in Vaikuntha under four conditions, as Sarupya, similarity of form, Salokya, visible presence, Sannidhya, proximity, and Sarshti, equal power⁶⁸.

Besides the writings of the founder, the following works are considered as forming the Sastra, or scriptural authority, of this sect. The four Vedas, the *Mahabharat*, the *Pancharatra*, and the genuine or original *Ramayana*.

It seems not improbable, that the founder of the Madhava sect was originally a Saiva priest, and, although he became a convert to the Vaishnava faith, he encouraged an attempt to form a kind of compromise or alliance between the Saivas and Vaishnavas. Madhava was first initiated into the faith of Siva at Ananteswar, the shrine of a Linga, and one of his names, Ananda Tirtha, indicates his belonging to the class of Dasnami Gossains, who were instituted by Sankaracharya; one of his first acts was to establish a Salagram, a type of Vishnu, at the shrine of Subrahmanya, the warrior son of Siva, and, as observed above, the images of Siva are allowed to partake, in the Madhava temples, of the worship offered to Vishnu. The votaries of the Madhava Gurus, and of the Sankarachari Gossains, offer the Namaskar, or reverential obeisance, to their

66 The daily ceremonies at Udipi are of nine descriptions: 1. Malavisarjana, cleaning the temple, 2. Upasthana, awaking Krishna, 3. Panchamrita, bathing him with milk, &c., 4. Udvartana, cleaning the image, 5. Tirtha Puja, bathing it with holy water, 6. Alankara, putting on his ornaments, 7. Avritta, addressing prayers and hymns to him, 8. Mahapuja, presenting fruits, perfumes, &c., with music and singing, 9. Ratri Puja, nocturnal worship, waving lamps before the image, with prayers, offerings, and music.

67 "Emancipation is not obtained without the favour of Vishnu. His favour is obtained from knowledge of his excellence, and not from a knowledge of his identity."—Sruti. *Mokshastu Vishnu-prasadantarena na labhyate prasadascha gunotkarshajnadeva nabhedajnat.* [*Sarvadaarsana sangraha*, p. 68.]

68 See also *Mahanarayana Upan.* 15. ap. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, 94.

teachers mutually, and the Sringeri Mahant visits Udipi, to perform his adorations at the shrine of Krishna. It is evident, therefore, that there is an affinity between these orders, which does not exist between the Saivas and Vaishnavas generally, who are regarded by the Madhavas, even without excepting the Ramanujas, as Pashandis, or heretics, whether they profess adoration of Vishnu or of Siva.

SANAKADI SAMPRADAYIS OR NIMAVATS

This division of the Vaishnava faith is one of the four primary ones, and appears to be of considerable antiquity : it is one also of some popularity and extent, although it seems to possess but few characteristic peculiarities beyond the name of the founder, and the sectarial mark.

Nimbadiya is said to have been a Vaishnava ascetic, originally named Bhaskara Acharya, and to have been, in fact, an incarnation of the sun for the suppression of the heretical doctrines then prevalent : he lived near Brindavan, where he was visited by a Dandi, or, according to other accounts, by a Jaina ascetic, or Jati, whom he engaged in controversial discussion till sunset : he then offered his visitant some refreshment, which the practice of either mendicant renders unlawful after dark, and which the guest was, therefore, compelled to decline : to remove the difficulty, the host stopped the further descent of the sun, and ordered him to take up his abode in a neighbouring Nimba tree, till the meat was cooked and eaten : the sun obeyed, and the saint was ever after named Nimbarka or Nimbadiya or the Nimba tree sun.

The Nimavats are distinguished by a circular black mark in the centre of the ordinary double streak of white earth, or Gopichandan : they use the necklace and rosary of the stem of the Tulasi : the objects of their worship are Krishna and Radha conjointly : their chief authority is the *Bhagavat*, and there is said to be a Bhashya on the Vedas by Nimbarka : the sect, however, is not possessed of any books peculiar to the members, which want they attribute to the destruction of their works at Mathura in the time of Aurangzeb.

The Nimavats are scattered throughout the whole of Upper India. They are met with of the two classes, coenobitical and secular, or Viraktas and Grihasthas, distinctions introduced by the two pupils of Nimbarka, Kesavat Bhatt, and Hari Vyas : the latter is considered as the founder of the family which occupies the pillow of Nimbarka at a place called Dhruva Kshetra, upon the Jumna, close to Mathura : the Mahant, however, claims to be a lineal descendant from Nimbarka himself, and asserts the existence of the present establishment for a past period of 1400 years : the antiquity is probably

exaggerated : the Nimavats are very numerous about Mathura, and they are also the most numerous of the Vaishnava sects in Bengal, with the exception of those who may be considered the indigenous offspring of that province.

VAISHNAVAS OF BENGAL

The far greater number of the worshippers of Vishnu, or more properly of Krishna, in Bengal, forming, it has been estimated, one-fifth of the population of the province⁶⁹, derive their peculiarities from some Vaishnava Brahmans of Nadia and Santipur, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. The two leading men in the innovation then instituted were Adwaitanand and Nityanand, who, being men of domestic and settled habits, seem to have made use of a third, who had early embraced the ascetic order, and whose simplicity and enthusiasm fitted him for their purpose, and to have set up Chaitanya as the founder and object of a new form of Vaishnava worship.

The history of Chaitanya has been repeatedly written, but the work most esteemed by his followers is the *Chaitanya Charitra* of Brindavan Das, which was compiled from preceding works by Murari Gupta and Damodara, who were the immediate disciples of Chaitanya, and who wrote an account, the first of his life as a Grihastha, or the Adi Lila, and the second of his proceedings as a pilgrim and ascetic, or the Madhya and Anta Lila. An abridgment of the composition of Brindavan Das, under the title of *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, was made by Krishna Das about 1590 : although described by the author as an abridgment, it is a most voluminous work, comprising, besides anecdotes of Chaitanya and his principal disciples, the expositions of the doctrines of the sect : it is written in Bengali, but it is interspersed most thickly with the Sanskrit texts on which the faith is founded, and which are taken from the *Brahma Sanhita*, the *Vishnu Purana*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and, above all, the *Sri Bhagavat*, the work that appears about this period to have given a new aspect to the Hindu faith throughout the whole of Hindusthan. The accounts we have to offer of Chaitanya and his schism are taken from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*.

Chaitanya was the son of a Brahman settled at Nadia, but originally from Srihatta, or Sylhet. His father was named Jagannath Misra, and his mother Sachi : he was conceived in the end of Magha 1484, but not born till Phalgun 1485, being thirteen months in the womb—his birth was accompanied by the usual portentous indications of a super-human event, and,

⁶⁹ Ward on the Hindus, 2, 175. In another place he says five-sixteenths, p. 448.

amongst other circumstances, an eclipse of the moon was terminated by entrance into the world. Chaitanya was, in fact, an incarnation of Krishna, or Bhagavan, who appeared for the purpose of instructing mankind in the true mode of worshipping him in this age : with the like view he was, at the same time, incarnate in the two greater teachers of the sect as principal Anas, or portions of himself, animating the form of Adwaitanand, whilst Nityanand was a personal manifestation of the same divinity, as he had appeared formerly in the shape of Balarama : the female incarnation was not assumed on this occasion, being, in fact, comprised in the male, for Radha, as the Purna-Sakti, or comprehensive energy, and Krishna, as the Purna-Saktiman, or possessor of the energy, were both united in the nature of the Nadia saint.

The father of Chaitanya died in his son's childhood, and his elder brother, Visvarupa, had perviously assumed the character of an ascetic : to take care of his mother, therefore, Chaitanya refrained from following his inclinations, and continued in the order of the Grihastha, or householder, till the age of twenty-four, during which time he is said to have married the daughter of Vallabhacharya. At twenty-four⁷⁰, he shook off the obligations of society, and becoming a Vairagi, spent the next six years in a course of peregrinations between Mathura and Jagannath, teaching his doctrines, acquiring followers, and extending the worship of Krishna. At the end of this period, having nominated Adwaitacharya and Nityanand to preside over the Vaishnavas of Bengal, and Rupa and Sanatana over those of Mathura, Chaitanya settled at Nilachal, or Cuttack, where he remained twelve years, engaging deeply in the worship of Jagannath, to whose festival he seems at least to have communicated great energy and repute⁷¹. The rest of his time was spent in tuition and controversy, and in receiving the visits of his disciples, who came annually, particularly the Bengalis, under Adwaita and Nityanand to Nilachal in the performance of acts of self-denial, and in intent meditation on Krishna ; by these latter means he seems to have fallen ultimately into a state of imbecility approaching to insanity, which engendered

70 Not forty, as stated by Ward (2, 173): his whole life little exceeded that age, as he disappeared at forty-two.

71 It may be observed, that in the frequent descriptions of the celebration of the Rath Yatra, which occur in the work of Krishna Das, no instance is given of self-sacrifice amongst the numerous votaries collected, neither is there any passage that could be interpreted as commendatory of the practice: it is, in fact, very contrary to the spirit of Vaishnava devotion, and is probably a modern graft from Saiva or Sakta superstition. Abulfazl does not notice the practice, although he mentions that those who assist in drawing the car think thereby to obtain remission of their sins.

perpetually beatific visions of Krishna, Radha, and the Gopis : in one of these, fancying the sea to be the Jumna, and that he saw the celestial cohort sporting in its blue waters, he walked into it, and fainting with ecstasy, would have been drowned, if his emaciated state had not rendered him buoyant on the waves : he was brought to shore in a fisherman's net, and recovered by his two resident disciples, Svarupa and Ramanand : the story is rendered not improbable by the uncertain close of Chaitanya's career : he disappeared ; how, is not known : of course his disciples suppose he returned to Vaikuntha, but we may be allowed to conjecture the means he took to travel thither, by the tale of his marine excursion, as it is gravely narrated by Krishna Das : his disappearance dates about A.D. 1527.

Of Adwaitanand and Nityanand no marvels, beyond their divine pervasion, are recorded : the former, indeed, is said to have predicted the appearance of Krishna as Chaitanya ; a prophecy that probably wrought its own completion : he sent his wife to assist at the birth of the saint, and was one of his first disciples. Adwaitanand resided at Santipur, and seems to have been a man of some property and respectability : he is regarded as one of the three Prabhus, or masters of the sect, and his descendants, who are men of property, residing at Santipur, are chief Gossains, or spiritual superiors, conjointly with those of Nityanand, of the followers of this faith. Nityanand was an inhabitant of Nadia, a Radhiya Brahman, and a householder : he was appointed especially by Chaitanya, the superior of his followers in Bengal, notwithstanding his secular character, and his being addicted to mundane enjoyments⁷² : his descendants are still in existence, and are divided into two branches : those of the male line reside at Kharda, near Barrackpore ; and those of the female at Balagor, near Sukhsagar : there are other families, however, of nearly equal influence in various parts of Bengal, descended from the other Gossains, the Kavirajas and original Mahants.

Besides the three Prabhus, or Chaitanya, Adwaita, and Nityanand, the Vaishnavas of this order acknowledge six Gossains as their original and chief teachers, and the founders, in some instances, of the families of the Gossains now existing,

⁷² Thus, according to Krishna Das, when Raghunath Das visits him, he finds him at a feast with his followers, eating a variety of dainties; amongst others a dish called Pulina, and when he good humouredly notices it, Nityanand replies: "I am of the Gopa caste (i.e. fig.: a companion of Krishna, the cow-herd), and am amidst many Gopas, and such as we are, consider Pulina a delicacy."

A verse is also ascribed to him, said to have become proverbial: "Let all enjoy fish, broth, and woman's charms—be happy, and call upon Hari."

to whom, as well as to the Gokulastha Gossains, hereditary veneration is due. The six Gaudiya, or Bengal, Gossains, appear to have all settled at Brindavan and Mathura, where many of their descendants are still established, and in possession of several temples : this locality, the agreement of dates, and the many points of resemblance between the institutions of Vallabha and Chaitanya render it extremely probable that their origin was connected, and that a spirit of rivalry and opposition gave rise to one or other of them.

The six Gossains of the Bengal Vaishnavas are Rupa, Sanatan, Jiva, Raghunath Bhatt, Raghunath Das, and Gopal Bhatt. Rupa and Sanatan⁷³ were brothers in the employ of the Muhammadan governor of Bengal, and were hence regarded as little than Mlechhas, or outcastes, themselves : the sanctity of Chaitanya's life and doctrine induced them to become his followers, and as it was a part of his system to admit all castes, even Muhammadans, amongst his disciples, they were immediately enlisted in a cause, of which they became the first ornaments and supports : they were men of learning, and were very indefatigable writers, as we shall hereafter see, and the foundation of two temples at Brindavan, the most respectable reliques of the Hindu faith existing in upper Hindusthan, is ascribed to their influence and celebrity⁷⁴. Jiva was the nephew of the preceding, the son of their younger brother : he was likewise an author, and the founder of a temple at Brindavan, dedicated to Radha Damodara. Raghunath Bhatt and Raghunath Das were both brahmans of Bengal, but they established themselves in the vicinity of Mathura and Brindavan. Gopal Bhatt founded a temple and establishment at Brindavan, which are

⁷³ From the indistinct manner in which they are conjointly described in the *Bhakta Mala* it might be thought that Rupa Sanatana was but a single individual, but, in one passage, the work indicates their being two brothers, conformably to the *Charitamrita*, and the tradition in general currency. [Price's *Hindee and Hindust. Selections* I, p. 132.]

⁷⁴ The temples of Govind Deva and Madanmohan, both in ruins; a Sanskrit inscription in the former, however, attributing it to Man Sinh Deva, a descendant of Prithu Rao, is dated Samvat 1647, or A.D. 1591. Besides the authority of Krishna Das for these two brothers being contemporary with Chaitanya, who died in 1527, I have a copy of the *Vidagdha Madhava*, of which Rupa is the author, dated 1525; it is not therefore likely, that Sanatan actually founded the temple of Govind Deva, although he may have been instrumental to its being undertaken. The interior of this temple is far superior to any of the religious structures to be met with along the Ganges and Jumna, and may almost be considered handsome: the exterior of that of Madanmohan is remarkable for its being built something after the plan of the pyramidal temples of Tanjore; or rather its exterior corresponds with that of the temples at Bhuvanesvara in Cuttack. *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XV, plate.

still maintained by his descendants ; the presiding deity is Radha Ramana.

Next to the six Gossains, several learned disciples and faithful companions of Chaitanya are regarded with nearly equal veneration : these are Srinivas, Gadadhar Pandit, Sri Svarupa, Ramanand, and others, including Hari Das : the last, indeed, has obtained almost equal honour with his master, being worshipped as a divinity in some places in Bengal. It is recorded of him, that he resided in a thicket for many years, and during the whole time he repeated the name of Krishna three hundred thousand times daily. In addition to these chiefs, the sect enumerates eight Kavi Rajas, or eminent and orthodox bards, amongst whom is Krishna Das, the author of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, and they also specify sixty-four Mahantas, or heads of religious establishments.

The object of the worship of the Chaitanyas is Krishna : according to them he is Paramatma, or supreme spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation : in his capacity of creator, preserver, and destroyer he is Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and in the endless divisions of his substance or energy he is all that ever was or will be : besides these manifestations of himself, he has, for various purposes, assumed specific shapes, as Avatars, or descents ; Ansas, or portions ; Ansansas, portion of portions, and so on *ad infinitum*: his principal appearance and, in fact, his actual sensible manifestation was as Krishna, and in this capacity he again was present in Chaitanya, who is therefore worshipped as the deity, as are the other forms of the same god, particularly as Gopal, the cow-herd, or Gopinath, the lord of the milk-maids of Brindavan ; his feats, in which juvenile characters are regarded, are his Lila, or sport.

It is not worth while to enter upon the prolix series of subtle . . . obscurities in which this class of Krishna's worshippers envelop their sectarian notions : the chief features of the faith are the identification of Vishnu with Brahma, in common with all the Vaishnava sects, and the assertion of his possessing, in that character, sensible and real attributes, in opposition to the Vedanta belief of the negative properties of God : these postulates being granted, and the subsequent identity of Krishna and Chaitanya believed, the whole religious and moral code of the sect is comprised in one word, Bhakti, a term that signifies a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion, and which, as illustrated by the anecdote of Hari Das above given, is the momentary repetition of the name of Krishna, under a firm belief, that such a practice is sufficient for salvation.

The doctrine of the efficacy of Bhakti seems to have been an

important innovation upon the primitive system of the Hindu religion. The object of the Vedas, as exhibiting the Vedanta, seems to have been the inculcation of fixed religious duties, as a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the deities, or any deity, and, beyond that, the necessity of overcoming material impurities by acts of self-denial and profound meditation, and so fitting the spiritual part for its return to its original sources ; in a word, it was essentially the same system that was diffused throughout the old pagan world. But the fervent adoration of any one deity superseded all this necessity, and broke down practice and speculation, moral duties, and political distinctions. Krishna himself declares in the *Bhagavat*, that to his worshipper that worship presents whatever he wishes—paradise, liberation, Godhead, and is infinitely more efficacious than any or all observances, than abstraction, than knowledge of the divine nature, than the subjugation of the passions, than the practice of the Yoga, than charity, than virtue, or than any thing that is deemed most meritorious⁷⁵.

Another singular and important consequence results from these premises, for as all men are alike capable of feeling the sentiments of faith and devotion, it follows, that all castes become by such sentiments equally pure. This conclusion indeed is always admitted, and often stoutly maintained in theory, although it may be doubted whether it has ever been acted upon, except by Chaitanya himself and his immediate disciples, at a period when it was their policy to multiply proselytes⁷⁶. It is so far observed, however, that persons of all castes and occupations are admitted into the sect, and all are at liberty to sink their civil differences in the general condition of mendicant and ascetic devotees, in which character they receive food from any hands, and of course eat and live with

⁷⁵ *Bhagavat*, 11th Section 20, 33, 34. See also Burnouf, *Bhag. Puran*, Vol. I, p.c.

⁷⁶ Chaitanya admitted amongst his followers five Patthans—who purposed to attack and plunder him, but were stopped by his sanctity, and converted by his arguments: one of these, who was a Pir, he new-named Ram Das, another, their leader, was a young prince (a Rajakumar) whom he named Bijjili Khan. Chaitanya communicated the Upadesa, or initiating Mantra, to them, and they all became famous Vaishnavas; Chaitanya uniformly maintains the pre-eminence of the faith over caste: the mercy of God, he says, regards neither tribe nor family. Krishna did not disdain to eat in the house of Vidura, a Sudra; and he cites Sanskrit texts for his authority—as “The Chandala, whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the wise, and not the unbelieving expounder of the Vedas.” Again: “The teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple; the faithful Chandala enjoys my friendship; to him be given, and from him be received: let him be revered, even as I am revered.” These passages are from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, where many others of similar purport may be found.

each other without regard to former distinctions. As followers of one faith all individuals are, in like manner, equally entitled to the Prasad, or food which has been previously presented to the deity, and it is probably the distribution of this, annually, at Jagannath, that has given rise to the idea, that at this place all castes of Hindus eat together : any reservation, however, on this head is foreign to the tenets of this sect, as well as of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas⁷⁷, and in both community of schism is a close connecting link, which should, in deed as well as word, abrogate every other distinction.

The Bhakti of the followers of this division of the Hindu faith is supposed to comprehend five Rasas or Ratis, tastes or passions : in its simplest form it is mere Santi, or quietism, such as was practiced by the Yogendras, or by sages, as Sanaka and his brethren, and other saints : in a more active state it is servitude, or Dasya, which every votary takes upon himself ; a higher condition is that of Sakhya, a personal regard or friendship for the deity, as felt by Bhima, Arjuna, and others, honoured with his acquaintance. Vatsalya, which is a higher station, is a tender affection for the divinity, of the same nature as the love of parents for their children, and the highest degree of Bhakti is the Madhurya, or such passionate attachment as that which pervaded the feelings of the Gopis towards their beloved Krishna.

The modes of expressing the feelings thus entertained by his votaries towards Krishna do not differ essentially from those prevalent amongst the followers of the Gokulastha Gossains : the secular worshippers, however, pay a less regular homage in the temples of Krishna, and in most parts of Bengal his public adoration occurs but twice a day, or between nine and twelve in the morning, and six and ten at night : occasionally, however, it does take place in a similar manner, or eight times a day. The chief ritual of the Bengal Vaishnavas of the class is a very simple one, and the Nama Kirtana, or constant repetition of any of the names of Krishna, or his collateral modifications, is declared to be the peculiar duty of the present age, and the only sacrifice the wise are required to offer ; it is of itself quite sufficient to ensure future felicity : however, other duties, or Sadhanas, are enjoined, to the number of sixty-four, including many absurd, many harmless, and many moral observances ; as fasting every eleventh day, singing and dancing in honour of Krishna, and suppressing anger, avarice, and lust. Of all obligations, however, the Guru Padasraya, or veneration of the spiritual teacher, is the most important and compulsory : the members of this sect not only are required to deliver up themselves and every thing valuable to the disposal of the Guru,

⁷⁷ See remark on the *Ramanandi Vaishnavas*.

they are not only to entertain full belief of the usual Vaishnava tenet, which identifies the votary, the teacher, and the god, but they are to look upon the Guru as one with the present deity, as possessed of more authority even than the deity, and as one whose favour is more to be courted, and whose anger is more to be deprecated, than even that of Krishna himself⁷⁸.

We have already had occasion to observe that this veneration is hereditary, and is paid to the successor of a deceased Gossain, although, in the estimation perhaps of his own worshippers, he is in his individual capacity more deserving of reprobation than of reverence. . . . The earliest works inculcate, no doubt, extreme reverence for the teacher, but not divine worship ; they direct the disciple to look upon his Guru as his second father, not as his God : there is great reason to suppose, that the prevailing practice is not of very remote date, and that it originates chiefly with the *Sri Bhagavat* : it is also falling into some disrepute, and as we shall presently see, a whole division of even Chaitanya's followers have discarded this part of the system.

Liberation from future terrestrial existence is the object of every form of Hindu worship. The prevailing notion of the means of such emancipation is the re-union of the spiritual man with that primitive spirit, which communicates its individual portions to all nature, and which receives them, when duly purified, again into its essence. On this head, however, the followers of Chaitanya, in common with most of the Vaishnava sects, do not seem to have adopted the Vedanta notions ; and, although some admit the *Sayujya* or identification with the deity, as one division of Mukti, others are disposed to exclude it, and none acknowledge its pre-eminence. Their Moksha is of two kinds : one, perpetual residence in Swarga, or Paradise, with possession of the divine attributes of supreme power, &c. and the other, elevation to Vaikuntha—the heaven of Vishnu, which is free from the influence of Maya, and above the regions of the Avatars, and where they enjoy one or all of the relations to Krishna, which have been enumerated when speaking of the followers of Ramanuja and Madhavacharya.

⁷⁸ On this subject the following occurs in the *Upasana Chandramrita* : "The Mantra is manifest in the Guru, and the Guru is Hari himself." "First the Guru is to be worshipped, then I am to be worshipped." "The Guru is always to be worshipped: he is most excellent from being one with the Mantra. Hari is pleased when the Guru is pleased: millions of acts of homage else will fail of being accepted." Again: "When Hari is in anger, the Guru is our protector, when the Guru is in anger, we have none." These are from the *Bhajanamrita*.

VAISHNAVA LITERATURE

The doctrines of the followers of Chaitanya are conveyed in a great number of works, both in Sanskrit and Bengali. The sage himself, and the two other Mahaprabhus, Nityanand and Adwaita, do not appear to have left any written compositions, but the deficiency was amply compensated by Rupa and Sanatan, both of whom were voluminous and able writers. To Rupa are ascribed the following works : the *Vidagdha Madhava*, a drama ; the *Lalita Madhava*, *Ujjwala Nilamani*, *Dana Keli Kaudmudi*, poems in celebration of Krishna and Radha : *Bahustavavali*, hymns ; *Ashtadasa Lila Khand* ; *Padmavali*, *Govinda Virudavali*, and its *Lakshana*, or exposition ; *Mathura Mahatmya*, panegyric account of *Mathura*, *Nataka Lakshana*, *Laghu Bhagavat*, an abridgment of the *Sri Bhagavat*, and the *Vraja Vilasa Varnanam*, an account of Krishna's sports in Brindavan. Sanatan was the author of the *Hari Bhakti Vilas*, a work on the nature of the deity and devotion, the *Rasamrita Sindhu*, a work of high authority on the same subjects, the *Bhagavatamrita*, which contains the observances of the sect, and the *Siddhanta Sara*, a commentary on the 10th Chapter of the *Sri Bhagavat*. Of the other six Gossains, Jiva wrote the *Bhagavat Sandarbha*, the *Bhakti Siddhanta*, *Gopala Champu*, and *Upadesamrita*, and Raghunath Das, the *Manassiksha* and *Gunalesa Sukhada*. These are all in Sanskrit.

In Bengali, the *Ragamaya Kona*, a work on subduing the passions, is ascribed to Rupa, and *Rasamaya Kalika*, on devotedness to Krishna, to Sanatan. Other Sanskrit works are enumerated amongst the authorities of this sect, as the *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*, a drama⁷⁹, *Stava Mala*, *Stavamrita Lahari*, by Visvanath Chakravarti ; *Bhajanamrita*, *Sri Smarana Darpana*, by Ramchandra Kaviraja ; the *Gopipremarita*, a comment on the *Krishna Karnamrita*, by Krishna Das Kaviraja ; and the *Krishna Kirtana*, by Govind Das and Vidyapati.—The biographical accounts of Chaitanya have been already specified in our notice of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, and besides those, there enumerated, we have the *Chaitanya Mangala*, a history of the saint, by Lochana, and the *Gauraganoddesa dipika*, an account of his chief disciples. The principal works of common reference, and written in Bengali, though thickly interspersed with Sanskrit texts, are the *Upasanachandramrita*, a ritual, by Lal Das, the *Premabhakti Chandrika*, by Thakur Gossain, the *Pashanda Dalana*, a refutation of other sects, by Radhamadhava, and the *Vaishnava Vardhana*, by Daivaki Nandana. There are no doubt many other works circulating amongst this sect, which is therefore possessed of a voluminous body of literature of its own⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ By Kavikarnapura.

⁸⁰ The particulars of the above are taken chiefly from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, others from the *Upasana Chandramrita*,

The Vaishnavas of this sect are distinguished by two white perpendicular streaks of sandal, or Gopi-chandana, down the forehead, uniting at the root of the nose, and continuing to near the tip ; by the name of Radha Krishna stamped on the temples, breast and arms ; a close necklace of Tulasi stalk of three strings, and a rosary of one hundred and eight or sometimes even of a thousand beads made of the stem of the Tulasi ; the necklace is sometimes made of very minute beads, and this, in upper India, is regarded as the characteristic of the Chaitanya sect, but in Bengal it is only worn by persons of the lowest class. The Chaitanya sectaries consist of every tribe and order, and are governed by the descendants of their Gossains. They include some Udasinas, or Vairagis, men who retire from the world, and live unconnected with society in a state of celibacy and mendicancy : the religious teachers are, however, married men, and their dwellings, with a temple attached, are tenanted by their family and dependents. Such coenobitical establishments as are common amongst the Ramanandis and other ascetics are not known to the great body of the Chaitanya Vaishnavas.

Besides the divisions of this sect arising from the various forms under which the tutelary deity is worshipped, and thence denominated Radharamanis, Radhipalis, Vihariji and Govindji, and Yugala Bhaktas, and which distinctions are little more than nominal, whilst also they are almost restricted to the Bengal Vaishnavas about Mâthura and Brindavan, there are in Bengal three classes of this sect, that may be regarded as seceders from the principal body ; these are denominated Spashta Dayakas, Karta Bhajas and Sahujas.

The Spashta Dayakas are distinguished from perhaps every other Hindu sect in India by two singularities—denial of the divine character, and despotic authority of the Guru, and at least professedly, the platonic association of male and female coenobites in one conventual abode⁸¹.

The secular followers of this sect are, as usual, of every tribe, and of the Grihastha, or householder order : the teachers, both male and female, are Udasina, or mendicants and ascetics, and lead a life of celibacy : the sectarial marks are a shorter Tilaka than that used by the other Chaitanyas, and a single string of Tulasi beads worn close round the neck : the men often wear only the Kaupina, and a piece of cloth round the waist, like an apron, whilst the women shave their heads, with the exception of a single slender tress : those amongst them who are most rigid in their conduct, accept no invitations nor food from any but persons of their own sect.

and a few from the list given by Ward: *Account of the Hindus*, Vol. 2, 448.

⁸¹ Like the brethren and sisters of the free spirit, who were numerous in Europe in the 13th century. See Mosheim, 3, 379.

The association of men and women is, according to their own assertions, restricted to a residence within the same enclosure, and leads to no other than such intercourse as becomes brethren and sisters, or than the community of belief and interest, and joint celebration of the praise of Krishna and Chaitanya with song and dance : the women act as the spiritual instructors of the females of respectable families, to whom they have unrestricted access, and by whom they are visited in their own dwellings : the institution is so far political, and the consequence is said to be actually that to which it obviously tends, the growing diffusion of the doctrines of this sect in Calcutta, where it is especially established.

The Karta Bhajas, or worshippers of the Creator, are a sect of very modern origin, having been founded no longer than thirty years ago by Rama Saran Pala, a Gwala, an inhabitant of Ghospara, a village near Sukh Sagar, in Bengal⁸². The chief peculiarity of this sect is the doctrine of the absolute divinity of the Guru, at least as being the present Krishna, or deity incarnate, and whom they therefore, relinquishing every other form of worship, venerate as their Ishta Devata, or elected god : this exclusive veneration is, however, comprehended within limits : we have seen that it prevails amongst the followers of Chaitanya generally, and it need scarcely have been adopted as a schismatical distinction : the real difference, however, is the person, not the character of the Guru, and the innovation is nothing, in fact, but an artful encroachment upon the authority of the old hereditary teachers or Gossains, and an attempt to invest a new family with spiritual power : the attempt has been so far successful, that it gave affluence and celebrity to the founder, to which, as well as his father's sanctity, the son, Ramdulal Pal has succeeded. It is said to have numerous disciples, the greater proportion of whom are women. The distinctions of caste are not acknowledged amongst the followers of this sect, at least when engaged in any of their religious celebrations, and they eat together in private, once or twice a year : the initiating Mantra is supposed to be highly efficacious in removing disease and barrenness, and hence many infirm persons and childless women are induced to join the sect.

The remaining division of the Bengal Vaishnavas allow nothing of themselves to be known : their professions and practices are kept secret, but it is believed that they follow

⁸² See Ward's account of this sect, Vol. 2, 175; in a note he has given a translation of the Mantra: "Oh! sinless Lord—Oh! great Lord, at thy pleasure I go and return, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee, save, Oh! great Lord." This is called the *Solah ana Mantra*, the Neophyte paying that sum, or sixteen annas, for it: it is perhaps one singularity in the sect, that this Mantra is in Bengali, a common spoken language—in all other cases it is couched in Sanskrit, the language of the gods.

the worship of Sakti, or the female energy, agreeably to the left-handed ritual, the nature of which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe.

The chief temples of the Bengal Vaishnavas, besides those which at Dwarka and Brindavan, and particularly at Jagannath, are objects of universal reverence, are three, one at Nadiya dedicated to Chaitanya, one at Ambika to Nityanand and the same, and one at Agradwipa dedicated to Gopinath : at the latter a celebrated Mela, or annual fair, is held in the month of March, at which from 50 to 100 thousand persons are generally collected.

RADHA VALLABHIS

Although the general worship of the female personifications of the Hindu deities forms a class by itself, yet when individualised as the associates of the divinities, whose energies they are, their adoration becomes so linked with that of the male power, that it is not easy, even to their votaries, to draw a precise line between them : they, in fact, form a part of the system, and Lakshmi and Sita are the preferential objects of devotion to many of the followers of Ramanuja and Ramanand, without separating them from the communion of the sect.

In like manner Radha, the favourite consort of Krishna, is the object of adoration to all the sects who worship that deity, and not infrequently obtains a degree of preference that almost throws the character from whom she derives her importance into the shade : such seems to be the case with the sect now noticed, who worship Krishna as Radha Ballabha, the lord or lover of Radha.

The adoration of Radha is a most undoubted innovation in the Hindu creed, and one of very recent origin. The only Radha that is named in the *Mahabharat*⁸³ is a very different personage, being the wife of Duryodhana's charioteer, and the nurse of Karna. Even the *Bhagavat* makes no particular mention of her amongst the Gopis of Brindavan, and we must look to the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*, as the chief authority of a classical character, on which the pretensions of Radha are founded ; a circumstance which is of itself sufficient to indicate the comparatively modern date of the Purana.

According to this work⁸⁴, the primeval being having divided himself into two parts, the right side became Krishna, and the left Radha, and from their union, the vital airs and mundane egg were generated. Radha being, in fact, the Ichchha Sakti, the will or wish of the deity, the manifestation of which was the universe.

⁸³ [V, 4759, 6.]

⁸⁴ [II, 45, 46.]

Radha continued to reside with Krishna in Goloka, where she gave origin to the Gopis, or her female companions, and received the homage of all the divinities. The Gopas, or male attendants of Krishna, as we have formerly remarked, were in like manner produced from his person. The grossness of Hindu personification ascribes to the Krishna of the heavenly Goloka the defects of the terrestrial cowherd, and the Radha of that region is not more exempt from the causes or effects of jealousy than the nymph of Brindavan. Being on one occasion offended with Krishna for his infidelity, she denied him access to her palace, on which she was severely censured by Sudama, a Gopa, and confidential adviser of Krishna. She therefore cursed him, and doomed him to be born on earth as an Asura, and he accordingly appeared as Sankhachuda. He retaliated by a similar imprecation, in consequence of which Radha was also obliged to quit her high station, and born at Brindavan on earth, as the daughter of a Vaisya, named Vrishabhanu, by his wife Kalavati. Krishna having, at the same time, become incarnate, was married to her at Brindavan, when he was fourteen, and she was twelve years of age : as a further result of the imprecation, she was separated from him after he attained maturity, until the close of his earthly career ; when she preceded him to the celestial Goloka, and was there reunited with him. The following is a further illustration of the notions of Radha entertained by this sect. It is the address of Ganesa to her, in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*⁸⁵, after she had set the example of presenting offerings to him.

“Mother of the universe, the worship thou hast offered affords a lesson to all mankind. Thou art of one form with Brahma, and abidest on the bosom of Krishna. Thou art the presiding goddess of his life, and more dear than life to him, on the lotus of whose feet meditate the gods Brahma, Siva, Sesha, and the rest, and Sanaka and other mighty munis, and the chiefs of the sages, and holy men, and all the faithful. Radha is the created left half, and Madhava the right, and the great Lakshmi, the mother of the world, was made from thy left side. Thou art the great goddess, the parent of all wealth, and of the Vedas, and of the world. The primeval Prakriti, and the universal Prakriti, and all the creations of the will, are but forms of thee. Thou art all cause and all effect. That wise Yogi, who first pronounces thy name, and next that of Krishna, goes to his region ; but he that reverses this order, incurs the sin of Brahminicide⁸⁶. Thou art the mother of the world. The Paramatma Hari is the father. The Guru is more venerable than the father, and the mother more venerable than the Guru. Although he

⁸⁵ [IV, 123.]

⁸⁶ Accordingly the formula used by the Radha Vallabhi sect, and the like, is always Radha Krishna, never Krishna Radha.

worship any other god, or even Krishna, the cause of all, yet the fool in this holy land who reviles Radhika shall suffer sorrow and pain in this life, and be condemned to hell, as long as the sun and moon endure. The spiritual preceptor teaches wisdom, and wisdom is from mystical rites and secret prayers; but they alone are the prayers of wisdom, that inculcate faith in Krishna and in you. He who preserves the Mantras of the gods through successive births, obtains faith in Durga, which is of difficult acquisition. By preserving the Mantra of Durga he obtains Sambhu, who is eternal happiness and wisdom. By preserving the Mantra of Sambhu, the cause of the world, he obtains your lotus feet, that most difficult of attainments. Having found an asylum at your feet, the pious man never relinquishes them for an instant, nor is separated from them by fate. Having with firm faith received, in the holy land of Bharata, your Mantra (initiating prayer) from a Vaishnava, and adding your praises (Stava) or charm (Kavacha), which cleaves the root of works, he delivers himself (from future births) with thousands of his kindred. He who having properly worshipped his Guru with clothes, ornaments, and sandal, and assumed thy Kavacha (a charm or prayer, carried about the person in a small gold or silver casket) is equal to Vishnu himself."

In what respect the Radha Vallabhis differ from those followers of the Bengali Gossains, who teach the worship of this goddess in conjunction with Krishna, does not appear, and perhaps there is little other difference than that of their acknowledging separate teachers. Instead of adhering to any of the hereditary Gossains, the members of this sect consider a teacher named Hari Vans as their founder. This person settled at Brindavan, and established a Math there, which in 1822 comprised between 40 and 50 resident ascetics. He also erected a temple there that still exists, and indicates, by an inscription over the door, that it was dedicated to Sri Radha Vallabha by Hari Vans, in Samvat 1641, or A. D. 1585. A manual, entitled *Radha Sudha Nidhi*, which is merely a series of Sanskrit verses in praise of Radha, is also ascribed to the same individual. A more ample exposition of the notions of the sect, and of their traditions and observances, as well as a collection of their songs or hymns, is the *Sava Sakhi Vani*, a work in Bhakha, in upwards of forty sections. There are other works in the vernacular dialects, and especially in that of Braj, or the country about Mathura and Brindavan, which regulate or inspire the devotion of the worshippers of Radha Vallabha.

SAKHI BHAVAS

This sect is another ramification of those which adopt Krishna and Radha for the objects of their worship, and may be regarded as more particularly springing from the last named

stock, the Radha Vallabhis....In order to convey the idea of being as it were her followers and friends, a character obviously incompatible with the difference of sex, they assume the female garb, and adopt not only the dress and ornaments, but the manners and occupations of women : ..the Sakhi Bhavas are of little repute, and very few in number : they occasionally lead a mendicant life, but are rarely met with : it is said that the only place where they are to be found, in any number, is Jaipur : there are a few at Banaras, and a few in Bengal.

CHARAN DASIS

Another Vaishnava sect conforming with the last in the worship of Radha and Krishna was instituted by Charan Das, a merchant of the Dhusar tribe, who resided at Dehli in the reign of the second Alamgir. Their doctrines of universal emanation are much the same as those of the Vedanta school, although they correspond with the Vaishnava sects in maintaining the great source of all things, or Brahma, to be Krishna : reverence of the Guru, and assertion of the pre-eminence of faith above every other distinction, are also common to them with other Vaishnava sects, from whom, probably, they only differ in requiring no particular qualification of caste, order, nor even sex, for their teachers : they affirm, indeed, that originally they differed from other sects of Vaishnavas in worshipping no sensible representations of the deity, and in excluding even the Tulasi plant and Salagram stone from their devotions : they have, however, they admit, recently adopted them, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Ramanand : another peculiarity in their system is the importance they attach to morality, and they do not acknowledge faith to be independent of works : actions, they maintain, invariably meet with retribution or reward : their moral code, which they seem to have borrowed from the Madhavas, if not from a purer source, consists of ten prohibitions. They are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations enjoined are, to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, and to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Maya, created the universe, and has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Krishna at Brindavan.

The followers of Charan Das are both clerical and secular ; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order ; the former lead

a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments and a single streak of sandal, or Gopichandana, down the forehead : the necklace and rosary are of Tulasi beads : they wear also a small pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous ; in fact, although they profess mendicity, they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples ; it is possible, indeed, that this sect, considering its origin, and the class by which it is professed, arose out of an attempt to shake off the authority of the Gokulastha Gossains.

The authorities of the sect are the *Sri Bhagavat* and *Gita*, of which they have Bhasha translations : that of the former is ascribed, at least in parts to Charan Das himself : he has also left original works, as the *Sandeha Sagar* and *Dharma Jihaj*, in a dialogue between him and his teacher, Sukh Deva, the same, according to the Charan Dasis, as the pupil of Vyas, and narrator of the Puranas. The first disciple of Charan Das was his own sister, Sahaji Bai, and she succeeded to her brother's authority, as well as learning, having written the *Samaj Prakas* and *Solah Nirnaya* : they have both left many *Sabdas* and *Kavitas* : other works, in Bhasha, have been composed by various teachers of the sect.

The chief seat of the Charan Dasis is at Dehli, where is the Samadhi, or monument of the founder : this establishment consists of about twenty resident members : there are also five or six similar Maths at Dehli, and others in the upper part of the Doab, and their numbers are said to be rapidly increasing.

HARISCHANDIS, SADHANA PANTHIS AND MADHAVIS

These sects may be regarded as little more than nominal. The two first have originated, apparently, in the determination of some of the classes considered as outcaste, to adopt new religious as well as civil distinctions for themselves, as they were excluded from every one actually existing. The Harischandis are Doms, or sweepers, in the western provinces : their name bears an allusion to the Pauranik prince Harischandra⁸⁷, who becoming the purchased slave of a man of this impure order, instructed his master, it is said, in the tenets of the sect. What they were, however, is not known, and it may be doubted whether any exist.

Sadhana, again, was a butcher, but it is related of him, that he only sold, never slaughtered meat, but purchased it ready slain. An ascetic rewarded his humanity with the present of a stone, a Salagram which he devoutly worshipped, and, in consequence, Vishnu was highly pleased with him, and con-

⁸⁷ See the Story of Harishandra in Ward, Vol. I, p. 16. Note.

ferred upon him all his desires. Whilst on a pilgrimage, the wife of a Brahman fell in love with him, but he replied to her advances, by stating, that a throat must be cut before he would comply, which she misinterpreting, cut off her husband's head : finding Sadhana regarded her on this account with increased aversion, she accused him of the crime, and as he disdained to vindicate his innocence, his hands were cut off as a punishment, but they were restored to him by Jagannath. The woman burnt herself on her husband's funeral pile, which Sadhana observing exclaimed : "No one knows the ways of women, she kills her husband, and becomes a Sati," which phrase has passed into a proverb. What peculiarity of doctrine he introduced amongst the Vaishnavas of his tribe, is nowhere particularised.

Madhava is said to have been an ascetic, who founded an order of mendicants called Madhavis : they are said to travel about always with a Saroda or Balian, stringed instruments of the guitar kind, and to accompany their solicitations with song and music : they are rarely, if ever, to be met with, and their peculiarity of doctrine is not known. The founder appears to be the same with the Madhoji of the *Bhakta Mala*, who was an inhabitant of Gadagarh, but there are several celebrated ascetics of the name, especially a Madhava Das, a Brahman of Kanauj, who was a man of considerable learning, and spent some time in Orissa and Brindavan. He was probably a follower of Chaitanya.

SANNYASIS, VAIRAGIS, &c.

Much confusion prevails in speaking of the mendicant and monastic orders of the Hindus, by the indiscriminate use of the terms prefixed to this division of our subject, and from considering them as specific denominations. They are, on the contrary, generic terms, and equally applicable to any of the erratic beggars of the Hindus, be they of what religious order they may : they signify, in fact, nothing more than a man, who has abandoned the world, or has overcome his passions, and are therefore equally suitable to any of the religious vagrants we meet with in Hindusthan : the term Fakir is of equally general application and import, although it is of Muhammadan origin, and in strictness more descriptive of the holy beggars of that faith.

Although, however, Sannyasis and Vairagis, and other similar denominations are used, and correctly used in a wide acceptance, yet we occasionally do find them limited in meaning, and designating distinct and inimical bodies of men. When this is the case, it may be generally concluded, that the Sannyasis imply the mendicant followers of Siva, and the Vairagis those of Vishnu.

The distinction thus made requires, at its outset, a peculiar exception, for besides the indiscriminate application of the term Sannyasi to the Vaishnavas, as well as other mendicants ; there is a particular class of them to whom it really appertains, these are the Tridandis, or Tridandi Sannyasis.

The word Danda originally imports a staff, and it figuratively signifies moral restraint ; exercised in three ways especially, or in the control of speech, body, and mind ; or word, deed, and thought : a joint reference to the literal and figurative sense of the term has given rise to a religious distinction termed Danda Grahanam, the taking up of the staff, or adopting the exercise of the moral restraints above-mentioned, and carrying, as emblematic of such a purpose, either one, or, as in the present instance, three small wands or staves. Tridandi designates both these characteristics of the order.

The Tridandi Sannyasis are such members of the Ramanuja, or Sri Vaishnava sect, as have past through the two first states of the Brahmanical order, and entered that of the Sannyasi, or the ascetic life : their practices are, in some other respects, peculiar : they never touch metals nor fire, and subsist upon food obtained as alms from the family of Brahmans of the Sri Vaishnava faith alone : they are of a less erratic disposition than most other mendicants, and are rarely met with in upper India : they are found in considerable numbers, and of high character, in the south : in their general practices, their religious worship, and philosophical tenets, they conform to the institutes and doctrines of Ramanuja.

VAIRAGIS

The term Vairagi implies a person devoid of passion⁸⁸, and is therefore correctly applicable to every religious mendicant, who affects to have estranged himself from the interests and emotions of mankind. Virakta, the dispassionate, and Avadhuta, the liberated, have a similar import, and are therefore equally susceptible of a general application : They are, indeed, so used in many cases, but it is more usual to attach a more precise sense to the terms, and to designate by them the mendicant Vaishnavas of the Ramanandi class, or its ramifications, as the disciples of Kabir, Dadu, and others.

The ascetic order of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas is considered to have been instituted especially by the twelfth disciple of Ramanand, Sri Anand : they profess perpetual poverty and continence, and subsist upon alms : the greater number of them are erratic, and observe no form of worship, but they are also

⁸⁸ From Vi private prefix, and Raga passion.

residents in the Maths of their respective orders⁸⁹, and the spiritual guides of the worldly votaries; it is almost impossible, however, to give any general character of these Vairagis, as, although united generally by the watch-word of Vishnu, or his incarnations, there are endless varieties both of doctrine and practice amongst them : those who are collected in Maths are of more fixed principles than their vagrant brethren, amongst whom individuals are constantly appearing in some new form with regard to the deity they worship, or the practices they follow⁹⁰.

NAGAS

All the sects include a division under this denomination. The Nagas are of the same description as the Vairagis, or Sannyasis,

89 The Ramanandi Vairagis, although indigenous in upper India, have established themselves in the Dekhan, as mentioned by Buchanan (*Mysore*, II, 76). The account he gives there of the Dakhini Vairagis is an excellent illustration of the confusion that prevails respecting the application of the term; as he has blended with the Ramanandi ascetics, who are accurately entitled to the designation, a variety of religious vagrants, to some of whom the name is rarely, and to others never applied: as Paramahansas, Digambaras, or Nagas, Urdhabahus, and even Aghoris; the latter are not named, but they, or similar Saiva mendicants, are the only individuals "who extort compassion by burning themselves with torches, and cutting themselves with swords."

90 Such are the Sita Padris, Ramati Rams, and others; also the new and scarcely yet known sects Gulal Dasis, and Darya Dasis: mention is also made in the *Dabistan*, of a number of Hindu mendicants, who are no longer numerous, if ever to be encountered. It is not possible in general, however, to discriminate the classes to which they belong, as in the descriptions given by the writer, he usually confines himself to a few peculiarities of practice that afford no guide to the principles of the sect, and as in the case of the Dherhs, he confounds the distinction of caste, or occupation with that of religious belief. Many of the vagrant ascetics whom he notices belong also rather to the Muhammadan, than the Hindu religion, as in the followers of Sheikh Bedia ad Din Medar [*Dabist.* II, 223 ff. G. de Tassy, *la relig. musulmane dans l'Inde*. Paris, 1831, p. 54-62.]—who, although they credit the divine mission of Muhammad, disregard the established forms of the Muhammadan faith, chew Bhang, and go naked, smearing their bodies with Vibhuti, or the ashes of burnt cowdung, and twisting their hair into the Jata, or braid worn by Hindu ascetics—except as professed worshippers of Niranjana, or the indescribable deity, and a belief in magic, these mendicants have little in common with the Hindu religion, or perhaps with any, although, with a facility of which innumerable instances occur in Hindustan, they have adopted many of the Hindu practices. The tomb of Sheikh Medar is still to be seen at Makhanpur, near Firozabad, in the Doab—where, at the time of the *Dabistan*, an annual meeting of his disciples was held. The tomb is an extensive building, though in decay. The *Dabistan*, although it contains many curious, and some correct notices of the Hindu religion, affords too loose and inaccurate a description to be consulted with advantage.

in all essential points, but in their excess of zeal they carry their secession from ordinary manners so far, as to leave off every kind of covering, and, as their name signifies, go naked ; there are, however, other points in which they differ from the general character of Hindu mendicants . . .

A striking proof of their propensities is their use of arms. They always travel with weapons, usually a matchlock and sword and shield, and that these implements are not carried in vain has been shown on various occasions : the sanguinary conflicts of opposite sects of Hindu mendicants have been described in several publications with the customary indistinctness as to the parties concerned : these parties are the Vaishnave and Saiva Nagas chiefly, assisted and probably instigated by the Vairagi and Sannyasi members of those two sects, and aided by abandoned characters from all the schisms connected respectively with the one or the other⁹¹ : it would, however, be doing an injustice to the mendicant orders of any sect, to suppose that they are universally or even generally implicated in these atrocious affrays.

SAIVAS

The worship of Siva in the districts along the Ganges presents itself under a very different aspect from that of Vishnu, and with some singular anomalies. It appears to be the most prevalent and popular of all the modes of adoration, to judge by the number of shrines dedicated to the only form under which Siva is revered, that of the Linga ; yet it will be generally observed, that these temples are scarcely ever the resort of numerous votaries, and that they are regarded with comparatively little veneration by the Hindus. Banaras, indeed, furnishes exceptions, and the temple of Visvesvara⁹² is thronged with a never-ceasing crowd of adorers. There is, however, little solemnity or veneration in the hurried manner in which they throw their flowers or fruits before the image⁹³ ; and there

⁹¹ *Asiatic Researches* VI, 317, and XII, 455; an occurrence of a similar nature is recorded by the author of the *Dabistan*; who mentions, that in 1050 of the Hijra a severe conflict took place at Dwaraka between a set of Vaishnava ascetics termed Mundis, from shaving their heads, and the Sannyasis, in which a great number of the former were slain [*Dabistan*, II, 197].

⁹² "The Lord of all," an epithet of Siva, represented as usual by a Linga. It is one of the twelve principal emblems of this description, and has been, for many centuries, the chief object of veneration at Kasi or Banaras. The old temple was partially destroyed by the Muhammadans in the reign of Aurangzeb: the present was built by Ahalya Bai, the Mahratta Princess, and, although small and without pretension to magnificence, is remarkable for the minute beauty of its architectural embellishments

⁹³ A Hindu temple comprises an outer court, usually a quadrangle, sometimes surrounded by a piazza, and a central

are other temples, the dwellings of other divinities, that rival the abode of Visvesvara in popular attraction.

The adoration of Siva, indeed, has never assumed, in Upper India, a popular form. He appears in his shrines only in an unattractive and rude emblem, the mystic purpose of which is little understood, or regarded by the uninitiated and vulgar and which offers nothing to interest the feelings or excite the imagination. No legends are recorded of this deity of a poetic and pleasing character ; and above all, such legends as are narrated in the Puranas and Tantras, have not been presented to the Hindus in any accessible shape. The Saivas have no works in any of the common dialects, like the *Ramayana*, the *Vartta*, or the *Bhaktamala*. Indeed, as far as any enquiry has yet been instituted, no work whatever exists, in any vernacular dialect, in which the actions of Siva, in any of his forms, are celebrated. If must be kept in mind, however, that these observations are intended to apply only to Gangetic Hindusthan, for in the South of India, as we shall hereafter see, popular legends relating to local manifestations of Siva are not uncommon.

Corresponding to the absence of multiplied forms of this divinity as objects of worship, and to the want of those works which attach importance to particular manifestations of the favourite god, the people can scarcely be said to be divided into different sects, any farther than as they may have certain religious mendicants for their spiritual guides. Actual divisions of the worshippers of Siva are almost restricted to these religious personages, collected sometimes in opulent and numerous associations, but for the greater part detached, few, and indigent. There are no establishments amongst the Saivas of Hindusthan, like those of Srinath or Puri ; no individuals as wealthy as the Gokulastha Gossains, nor even as influential as the descendants of Adwaita and Nityananda. There are no teachers of ancient repute except Sankara Acharya but his doctrines are too philosophical and speculative...

The worship of Siva continues, in fact, to be what it appears to have been from a remote period, the religion of the Brah-

edific constituting the shrine. This, which in Upper India is generally of small dimensions, is divided into two parts, the Sabha, or vestibule, and the Garbhagriha, or adytum, in which the Image is placed. The course of worship is the circumambulating of the temple, keeping the right hand to it, as often as the devotee pleases: the worshipper then enters the vestibule, and if a bell is suspended there, as is commonly the case, strikes two or three times upon it. He then advances to the threshold of the shrine, presents his offering, which the officiating Brahman receives, mutters inaudibly a short prayer, accompanied with prostration, or simply with the act of lifting the hands to the forehead, and departs...

manas⁹⁴. Sambhu is declared by Manu to be the presiding deity of the Brahmanical order, and the greater number of them, particularly those who practice the rites of the Vedas, or who profess the study of the Sastras, receive Siva as their tutelary deity, wear his insignia, and worship the Linga, either in temples, in their houses, or on the side of a sacred stream, providing, in the latter case, extempore emblems kneaded out of the mud or clay of the river's bed. The example of the Brahmans and the practice of ages maintain the veneration universally offered to the type of Siva ; but it is not the prevailing, nor the popular condition of the Hindu faith, along the banks of the Ganges. We shall now proceed to specify the different classes into which the worshippers of Siva, as distinct from the mass of Brahmans, may be distinguished.

DANDIS AND DASNAMIS

It is customary to consider these two orders as forming but one division. The classification is not, in every instance, correct, but the practices of the two are, in many instances, blended, and both denominations are accurately applicable to the same individual. It will not be necessary, therefore, to deviate from the ordinary enumeration.

The Dandis, properly so called, and the Tridandis of the Vaishnavas, are the only legitimate representatives of the fourth Asrama, or mendicant life, into which the Hindu, according to the instructions of his inspired legislators, is to enter, after passing through the previous stages of student, householder and hermit⁹⁵. It is not necessary, however, to have gone through the whole of the previous career, as the Brahman may pass from any one of the first orders to the last at once⁹⁶; he is then to take up his staff and water-pot, to derive from begging such a portion of food as is sufficient for his mere sustenance, and to devote the remainder of his day to holy study and pious meditation⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ See a preceding Note page 1. [The received text of Manu does not contain the sloka there referred to.]

⁹⁵ Thus Manu, 6, 33: "Having thus performed religious acts in a forest during the third portion of his life, let him become a Sannyasi for the fourth portion of it, abandoning all sensual affection."

⁹⁶ So Manu, as expounded by Kulluka Bhatta, 6, 38: "Having performed the sacrifice of Prajapati, &c. a Brahman may proceed from his house, that is, from the second order, or he may proceed even from the first to the condition of a Sannyasi." Indeed the intermediate stage of the Vanaprastha is amongst the prohibited acts in the Kali age.

⁹⁷ Agreeably to the high authority already quoted, 6, 41, 43: "Departing from his house, taking with him pure implements,

Adopting, as a general guide, the rules of original works, the Dandi is distinguished by carrying a small Danda, or wand, with several processes or projections from it, and a piece of cloth dyed with red ochre, in which the Brahmanical cord is supposed to be enshrined, attached to it : he shaves his hair and beard, wears only a cloth round his loins, and subsists upon food obtained ready-dressed from the houses of the Brahmans once a day only, which he deposits in the small clay pot that he carries always with him : he should live alone, and near to, but not within a city ; but this rule is rarely observed, and in general the Dandis are found in cities collected like other mendicants in Maths⁹⁸. The Dandi has no particular time or mode of worship, but spends his time in meditation, or in practices corresponding with those of the Yoga, and in the study of the Vedanta works, especially according to the comments of Sankaracharya. As that teacher was an incarnation of Siva⁹⁹, the Dandis reverence that deity and his incarnations, in preference to the other members of the Triad, whence they are included amongst his votaries ; and they so far admit the distinction as not infrequently to bear the Saiva mark upon the forehead, smearing it with the Tripundra, a triple transverse line made with the Vibhuti, or ashes which should be taken from the fire of an Agnihotra Brahman, or they may be the ashes of burnt cowdung from an oblation offered to the god¹⁰⁰. They

his water-pot, and staff, keeping silence, unallured by desire of objects near him, let him enter into the fourth order."

"Let him have no culinary fire, no domicile, let him when very hungry go to the town for food, let him patiently bear disease, let him study to know God, and fix his attention on God alone."

⁹⁸ These are all founded on the following quoted from Manu : "His hair, nails and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a water-pot, let him wander about continually without giving pain to any being." VI, 52.

"Only once a day let him demand food, let him not habituate himself to eat much at a time, for an anchorite habituated to eat much becomes inclined to sensual gratification." 55.

"At the time when the smoke of kitchen fires has ceased, when the pestle lies motionless, when the burning charcoal is extinguished, when people have eaten and when dishes are removed, that is, late in the day, let the Sannyasi always beg food." 56.

"For missing it let him not be sorrowful, nor for gaining it let him be glad, let him care only for a sufficiency to support life, but let him not be anxious about his utensils." 57.

⁹⁹ This character is given to him in the *Sankara Vijaya* of Madhava Acharya; his followers in the Dekhan assert that Siva's descent as Sankara was foretold in the *Skanda Purana*: a prophecy which, if found in that work, will assist to fix its date; but the passage has not been met with.

¹⁰⁰ The material, or Vibhuti, and the efficacy of the mark, the Tripundra, are thus described in the *Kasikhanda*: "The ashes of

also adopt the initiating Mantra of all the Saiva classes, either the five or six syllable Mantra, "Nama Sivaya," or "Om, Nama Sivaya." The genuine Dandi, however, is not necessarily of the Saiva or any other sect ; and in their establishments it will be usually found that they profess to adore Nirguna or Niranjana, the deity devoid of attribute or passion¹⁰¹.

The Dandis, who are rather practical than speculative, and who have little pretence to the appellation beyond the epithet and outward signs of the order, are those most correctly included amongst the Saiva sects. Amongst these the worship of Siva, as Bhairava, is the prevailing form, and in that case part of the ceremony of initiation consists in inflicting a small incision on the inner part of the knee, and drawing the blood of the novice as an acceptable offering to the god. The Dandis of every description have also a peculiar mode of disposing of their dead, putting them into coffins and burying them ; or, when practicable, committing them to some sacred stream. The reason of this is their being prohibited the use of fire on any account¹⁰².

Any Hindu of the three first classes may become Sannyasi or Dandi, or, in these degenerate days, a Hindu of any caste

fire made with burnt cowdung are the material fittest for the Tripundra."

"Whoever marks the Tripundra with ashes, agreeably to rule, is purified from sins of the first and second degree: who makes it on his forehead without the Mantras, being ignorant of its virtue, will be purified from every simple sin." The mode of making it is thus laid down:

"Beginning between the eye-brows, and carrying it to their extremity, the mark made with the thumb reverted between the middle and third fingers is called the Tripundra." [Vrihadbrahmottarakhandā 28, 41, 42, quoted in *Catal. Codd. MSS. Sanskrit. Bibl. Bodl.* I, p. 74.]

101 The Dandis of the North of India are the Sannyasis, or monastic portion of the Smarta Brahmanas of the South, of whom Buchanan gives the following account: "The most numerous class here, and which comprehends about one-half of all the Brahmans in the Lower Karnataka, is called the Smarta Sect, and its members are the followers of Sankara Acharya. They are commonly said to be of the sect of Siva, but they consider Brahma, Vishnu and Isvara to be same as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. They are readily distinguished by three horizontal stripes on the forehead, made with the ashes of cowdung" (Buch. 1, 13). "The Sannyasis are the Gurus of this sect" (*Ibid.* 305); and the Dandis have great influence and authority amongst Saiva Brahmans of the North of India.

102 In the South, the ascetic followers of both Siva and Vishnu bury the dead (Dubois, 56); so do the Vaishnava Vairagis and Sannyasis in the North of India, and the Saiva Yogis. The class of Hindu weavers called Yogis, have adopted a similar practice (Ward 1, 201); all the castes in the South, that wear the Linga, do the same (Buch. 1, 27).

may adopt the life and emblems of this order. Such are sometimes met with, as also are Brahmans, who, without connecting themselves with any community, assume the character of this class of mendicants. These constitute the Dandis simply so termed, and are regarded as distinct from the primitive members of the order, to whom the appellation of Dasnamis is also applied, and who admit none but Brahmans into their fraternity.

The Dasnami Dandis, who are regarded as the descendants of the original members of the fraternity, are said to refer their origin to Sankara Acharya, an individual who appears to have performed a part of some importance in the religious history of Hindustan ; and to whom an influence has been often attributed much exceeding that which he really exercised. His biography, like that of most of the Hindu saints, is involved in considerable obscurity ; but a few facts may be gleaned from such accounts as we have of him, upon which reliance may be placed, and to which it may not be uninteresting here briefly to advert.

A number of works are current in the South of India relating to this teacher, under the titles of *Sankara Charitra*, *Sankara Katha*, *Sankara Vijaya*, or *Sankara Digvijaya*¹⁰³, following much the same course of narration, and detailing little more than Sankara's controversial victories over various sects ; in most cases, no doubt, the fictions of the writers. Of the two principal works of the class one attributed to Anandagiri, a pupil of Sankara, has already been noticed¹⁰⁴. The other is the work of Madhava Acharya¹⁰⁵, the minister of some of the earliest chiefs of Vijayanagar, and who dates, accordingly, in the fourteenth century. This is a composition of high literary and polemical pretension, but not equally high biographical value. Some particulars of Sankara's birth and early life are to be found in the *Kerala Utpatti*¹⁰⁶, or political and statistical description of Malabar, although the work is sometimes said to have been composed by Sankara himself.

With regard to the place of Sankara's birth, and the tribe of which he was a member, most accounts agree to make him a native of Kerala, or Malabar, of the tribe of Namburi Brahmans, and in the mythological language of the sect an incarnation of Siva. According to other traditions, he was born at Chidambaram, although he transferred his residence to Malabar, whilst the *Kerala Utpatti* recognises Malabar as his native place. . .

103 [Mackenzie Collection, I, 98, 314.]

104 *Supra* p. 6.

105 [See *Bhagav. Purana* ed. Burnouf, I, p. lvii. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV, p. 173, Note.]

106 [Mackenzie Collection II, 73 ff. F. H. H. Windischmann, *Sankara*. Bonn, 1833, pp. 39-48.]

In Malabar he is said to have divided the four original castes into seventy-two, or eighteen sub-divisions each, and to have assigned them their respective rites and duties. Notwithstanding this, he seems to have met with particular disrespect either on account of his opinions, origin, or his wandering life. On his return home, on one occasion, his mother died, and he had to perform the funeral rites, for which his relations refused to supply him with fire, and at which all the Brahmans declined to assist. Sankara then produced fire from his arm, and burnt the corps in the courtyard of the house, denouncing imprecations on the country to the effect, that the Brahmans there should not study the Vedas, that religious mendicants should never obtain alms, and that the dead should always be burned close to the houses in which they had resided—a custom which is said to have survived him.

All accounts concur in representing Sankara as leading an erratic life, and engaging in successful controversy with various sects, whether of the Saiva, Vaishnava, or less orthodox persuasions. In the course of his peregrinations he established several Maths, or convents, under the presidency of his disciples, particularly one still flourishing at Sringeri, or Sringagiri, on the western Ghats, near the sources of the Tungabhadra. Towards the close of his life he repaired as far as to Kashmir, and seated himself, after triumphing over various opponents, on the throne of Sarasvati. He next went to Badarikasrama, and finally to Kedarnath, in the Himalaya, where he died at the early age of thirty-two. The events of his last days are confirmed by local traditions, and the Pitha, or throne of Sarasvati, on which Sankara sat, is still shown in Kashmir; whilst at the temple of Siva, at Badari, a Malabar Brahman, of the Namburi tribe, has always been the officiating priest¹⁰⁷.

The influence exercised by Sankara in person, has been perpetuated by his writings, the most eminent of which are his Bhashyas, or Commentaries, on the Sutras, or Aphorisms, of Vyasa. A Commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* is also ascribed to him, as is one on the *Nrisinha Tapaniya Upanishad*; a cento of verses in praise of Durga, the *Saundaraya Lahari*, is likewise said to be his composition, as sometimes is the *Amaru Sataka*, a collection of amatory Stanzas written in the name of Amaru, a Prince, whose dead body Sankara is fabled to have animated, that by becoming familiarised with sensual enjoyments he might argue upon such topics with the wife of Madana Misra, who was more than equal to him in discussions of this nature, and was the only disputant he was unable to subdue, until the period of his transmigration had expired, and he had thence become practiced in the gratification of the passions.

Although no doubt of Sankara's existence or of the important part performed by him in the partial re-modelling of the Hindu system can be entertained, yet the period at which he flourished can by no means be determined. I have, in another place, expressed my belief that he may have existed about the eighth or ninth century¹⁰⁸. Subsequent enquiry has failed to add any reasons to those assigned for such an inference; but it has offered nothing to weaken or invalidate the conclusion there proposed¹⁰⁹.

The spiritual descendants of Sankara, in the first degree, are variously named by different authorities, but usually agree in the number. He is said to have had four principal disciples, who, in the popular traditions, are called Padmapada, Hastamalaka, Suresvara or Mandana, and Trotaka. Of these, the first had two pupils, Tirtha and Asrama; the second, Vana and Aranya; the third had three, Sarasvati, Puri, and Bharati; and the fourth had also three, Giri or Gir, Parvata, and Sagara. These, which being all significant terms were no doubt adopted names, constitute collectively the appellation Dasnami, or the

108 Preface to the *Sanskrit Dictionary* [first edition] p. xvii.

109 A Halakanara Manuscript, in the possession of Col. Mackenzie, entitled *Sankara Vijaya*, (Mackenzie Collection II, 34) gives the following list of the spiritual heads of the Sringeri establishment:

1. Govinda Pada. 2. Sankara Acharya. 3. Sanandana Acharya. 4. Surasura Acharya. 5. Trotaka Acharya. 6. Hastamalaka Acharya. 7. Jnanaghana Acharya. 8. Jnanottama Acharya. 9. Sinhagirisvara Acharya. 10. Isvaratirtha Acharya. 11. Nrisinha Murti Acharya. 12. Vitarana Acharya. 13. Vidyasankara Acharya. 14. Bharati Krishna Acharya. 15. Vidyaranya Acharya. 16. Chandra Sekhara Acharya. 17. Nrisinha Bharati Acharya. 18. Sankara Bharati Acharya. 19. Nrisinha Bharati Acharya. 20. Purushottoma Bharati Acharya. 21. Ramachandra Bharati Acharya. 22. Nrisinha Bharati Acharya. 23. Immadi Bharati Acharya. 24. Abhinava Nrisinha Bharati Acharya. 25. Sachchidananda Bharati Acharya. 26. Nrisinha Bharati Acharya. 27. Immadi Sachchidananda Bharati Acharya. 28. Abhinava Sachchidananda Bharati Acharya. 29. Nrisinha Bharati Acharya.

This gives 27 descents from Sankara. As the Mahant is elected from the disciples either by the Guru when about to die, or by the Svamalu, the spiritual chiefs of other establishments of the same sect, he is raised probably to the station in the prime of manhood, and in the ease and dignity of his sanctity has a favourable prospect of a long life. Twenty-five years to a Guru may therefore be but a fair average allowance, and the above list comprises at that rate an interval of 657 years: at what period it closes does not appear; but the Halakanara language is obsolete, and the work is possibly not less than two or three centuries old. This series of Guru is so far corroborative of the view elsewhere taken of Sankara's date; but as it has been extracted by a Pandit from a work which I could not consult myself, it is by no means certain that it is correct, and I do not wish to attach any undue importance to the authority.

ten-named, and when a Brahman enters into either class he attaches to his own denomination that of the class of which he becomes a member ; as Tirtha, Puri, Gir, &c.¹¹⁰. The greater proportion of the ten classes of mendicants, thus descended from Sankara Acharya, have failed to retain their purity of character, and are only known by their epithets as members, of the original order. There are but three, and part of a fourth mendicant class, or those called Tirtha or Indra, Asrama, Sarasvati, and Bharati, who are still regarded as really Sankara's Dandis. These are sufficiently numerous, especially in and about Banaras. They comprehend a variety of characters ; but amongst the most respectable of them, are to be found very able expounders of the Vedanta works. Other branches of Sanskrit literature owe important obligations to this religious sect¹¹¹. The most sturdy beggars are also members of this order, although their contributions are levied particularly upon the Brahmanical class, as, whenever a feast is given to the Brahmins, the Dandis of this description present themselves unbidden guests, and can only be got rid of by bestowing on them a due share of the cates provided for their more worldly-minded brethren. Many of them practise the Yoga, and profess to work miracles, although with less success than some members of the order in the days of the author of the *Dabistan*¹¹², who specifies one Dandadhari as able to suspend his breath for three hours, bring milk from his veins, cut bones with hair, and put eggs into a narrow-mouthed bottle without breaking them.

The remaining six and a half members of the Dasnami class, although considered as having fallen from the purity of practice necessary to the Dandi, are still, in general, religious

110 It is scarcely worth while perhaps to translate words of such common occurrence, but to prove what I have stated in the text, I subjoin their signification: Tirtha, a place of pilgrimage; Asrama, an order, as that of student, householder, &c.; Vana, a wood; Aranya, a wood; Sarasvati, the goddess of speech and eloquence; Puri, a city; Bharati, speech, or its goddess; Giri, a mountain; in common use it always occurs Gir, which implies speech; Parvata, a mountaineer; Sagara, an ocean; the names are always compounded with different terms. One of Sankara's disciples we have seen called Ananda Giri. The famous Madhava, when he became a Dandi, adopted the appellation of Vidyaranya. Purangir has been elsewhere adverted to, and other like names occur in some of the following notes. Bharati is the prevailing title of the latter Sringagiri Gurus.

111 Sankara and Madhava are well known by their numerous and excellent works. The chief Vedanta writers, in like manner, were Dandis; and the author of the *Dasakumara*, Ramasrama, the Commentator on Amara, and Vijnanesvara, the Commentator on the texts of *Yajnavalkya*, were of the same class of ascetics.

112 [Vol. II, p. 148.]

characters, and are usually denominated Atits¹¹³ : the chief points of difference between them and the preceding are their abandonment of the staff ; their use of clothes, money, and ornaments ; their preparing their own food, and their admission of members from any order of Hindus. They are often collected in Maths, as well as the Dandis, but they mix freely in the business of the world ; they carry on trade, and often accumulate property, and they frequently officiate as priests at the shrines of the deities¹¹⁴ : some of them even marry, but in that case they are distinguished by the term Samyogi from the other Atits.

The chief practices and designations of the Dandis, as generally characteristic of them, have been already adverted to, but a great variety prevails in the details¹¹⁵. Their philosophical tenets in the main are those of the Vedanta system, as taught by Sankara and his disciples ; but they generally super-add the practice of the Yoga, as taught by the followers of Patanjali, and many of them have latterly adopted the doctrines of the Tantras. Besides Sankara, the different orders of Dandis hold in high veneration the Muni Dattatreya, the son of Atri and Anasuya. By virtue of a boon bestowed upon Atri or, according to one legend, on his wife by the three deities Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, that sage had three sons, Soma, Datta, and Durvasas, who were severally portions of the deities themselves¹¹⁶. Datta, or Dattatreya was eminent for his practice of the Yoga, and hence is held in high estimation by the Yogis, of whom we are next to speak, whilst, as an incarnation of a portion of Vishnu, he is likewise venerated by the Vaishnavas.

YOGIS

The Dandis are to the Saiva sects what the followers of Ramanuja are to those of the Vaishnava faith, and a like parallel may be drawn between the disciples of Ramanand and those of Gorakhnath, or the Kanphata Jogis, the first pair being properly restricted to the Brahmanical order, intended chiefly for men of learning ; the two latter admitting members from every description of people, and possessing a more attractive popular character.

113 From Atita, past away, liberated from worldly cares and feelings.

114 The officiating priests at the celebrated shrine of Annapurana, in Banaras, are Atits.

115 A specimen of the independent but scarcely orthodox Dandi is presented in the well-known personage Puran Gir, of whom Duncan published an account in the 5th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.

116 *Bhagavat*, Book IV, [I, 15, 33.] and *Markandeya Purana*, Chapter XVI, [14 ff. XVII, II. *Vishnu Purana* p. 83.]

The term Yogi is properly applicable to the followers of the Yoga or Patanjala school of philosophy, which, amongst other tenets, maintained the practicability of acquiring, even in life, entire command over elementary matter by means of certain ascetic practices. The details of these it is unnecessary to particularize, and accounts of them and of the Yoga philosophy will be best derived from the translation of Bhoja Deva's Comment on the *Patanjala Sutras* in Ward's Account of the Hindus, and Colebrooke's Essay on the Sankhya and Patanjala doctrines, in the 1st volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It is sufficient here to observe, that the practices consist chiefly of long continued suppressions of respiration; of inhaling and exhaling the breath in a particular manner; of sitting in eighty-four different attitudes; of fixing the eyes on the top of the nose, and endeavouring, by the force of mental abstraction, to effect a union between the portion of vital spirit residing in the body and that which pervades all nature, and is identical with Siva, considered as the supreme being and source and essence of all creation. When this mystic union is effected, the Yogi is liberated in his living body from the clog of material incumbrance, and acquires an entire command over all worldly substance. He can make himself lighter than the lightest substances, heavier than the heaviest; can become as vast or as minute as he pleases, can traverse all space, can animate any dead body by transferring his spirit into it from his own frame, can render himself invisible, can attain all objects, becomes equally acquainted with the past, present, and future, and is finally united with Siva, and consequently exempted from being born again upon earth. These super-human faculties are acquired, in various degrees, according to the greater or less perfection with which the initiatory processes have been performed.

According to standard authorities the perfect fulfilment of the rites which the Yogi has to accomplish requires a protracted existence and repeated births, and it is declared to be unattainable in the present or Kali age¹¹⁷. The attempt is therefore prohibited, and the Yoga is prescribed in modern times. This inhibition is, however, disregarded, and the individuals who are the subjects of our enquiry endeavour to attain the super-human powers which the performance of the Yoga is supposed to confer. They especially practice the various gesticulations and postures of which it consists, and labour assiduously to suppress their breath and fix their thoughts until the effect does

¹¹⁷ The *Kasikhandā* thus enumerates the difficulty or impossibility of completing the Yoga in the present age: "From the unsteadiness of the senses, the prevalence of sin in the Kali, and the shortness of life, how can Exaltation by the Yoga be obtained?" Again: "In the Kali age, the Yoga and severe penance are impracticable."

somewhat realise expectation, and the brain, in a state of over-wrought excitement, bodies forth a host of crude and wild conceptions, and gives to airy nothings a local habitation and a name¹¹⁸. A year's intense application is imagined enough to qualify the adept¹¹⁹, whilst inferior faculties may be obtained by even a six month's practice.

There are few Yogis, however, who lay claim to perfection, and their pretensions are usually confined to a partial command over their physical and mental faculties. These are evinced in the performance of low mummeries or juggling tricks, which cheat the vulgar into a belief of their powers. A common mode of display is by waving a Chauri, or bunch of peacock's feathers, over a sick or new-born infant, to cure it of any morbid affection or guard it against the evil eye. A trick of loftier pretence has of late attracted some notice in the person of a Brahman at Madras, who, by some ingenious contrivance, appeared to sit in the air, and who boasted of being able to remain for a considerable period under water. He and his followers ascribed the possession of these faculties to his successful practice of the observances of the Yoga¹²⁰.

118 Some who have commenced their career in this line, have carried the practice to several hours' duration, at which time they have described themselves as becoming perfectly exhausted, with strange objects passing before them, and sparks of fire flashing in their eyes. One individual quitted it from having at last a figure resembling himself always before him, and knowing this to be a deception, he wisely inferred the similar character of any other visionary creature of his contemplation and the absurdity of the practice. Dubois has some amusing anecdotes on this subject (page 357, &c.), they are fully authenticated by the similar accounts which many Vairagis in Upper India will readily furnish. The worthy Abbe may indeed be generally trusted when he confines himself to what he saw or knew: in much that he heard he was misled, and in almost every thing connected with the language and literature and the religion or philosophy, as taught by classical authority, he commits egregious blunders.

119 "Leading a life of chastity and abstemiousness, and diligent in the practice of the Yoga, the Yogi becomes perfect after a year: of this there is do doubt."—*Hatha Pradipa*.

120 "Sitting in the Air.—An exhibition at Madras has excited considerable curiosity. A Brahmin, old and slightly made, represented to be of high caste, contrives to poise himself in a most extraordinary manner in the air. He performs this feat at any gentleman's house, not for money, but as an act of courtesy. The following is a description from an eye-witness, given in a Calcutta paper:—"The only apparatus seen is a piece of plank, which, with four pegs, he forms into a kind of long stool; upon this, in a little brass saucer or socket, he places, in a perpendicular position, a hollow bamboo, over which he puts a kind of crutch, like that of a walking crutch, covering that with a piece of common hide: these materials he carries with him in a little bag, which is shown to those who see the exhibition.

In referring to the origin of this system we must no doubt go back to some antiquity, although the want of chronological data renders it impossible to specify the era at which it was first promulgated. That it was familiarly known and practiced in the eighth century, we may learn from the plays of Bhavabhūti, particularly the *Malati* and *Madhava*¹²¹, and from several of the *Saiva Puranas*, in some of which, as the *Kurma Purana*, we have a string of names which appear to be those of a succession of teachers¹²². The cave temples of the South of India, in the subjects of their sculptures and the decorations of Siva

The servants of the houses hold a blanket before him, and when it is withdrawn, he is discovered poised in the air, about four feet from the ground, in a sitting attitude, the outer edge of one hand merely touching the crutch, the fingers of that hand deliberately counting beads; the other hand and arm held up in an erect posture. The blanket was then held up before him, and they heard a gurgling noise like that occasioned by wind escaping from a bladder or tube, and when the screen was withdrawn he was again standing on terra firma. The same man has the power of staying under water for several hours. He declines to explain how he does it, merely saying he has been long accustomed to do so." The length of time for which he can remain in his aerial station is considerable. The person who gave the above account says that he remained in the air for twelve minutes; but before the Governor of Madras he continued on his baseless seat for forty minutes."—*Asiatic Monthly Journal for March*, 1829.

121 See especially the opening of the 5th Act, and Notes.

122 Siva, it is said, appeared in the beginning of the Kali age as Sveta for the purpose of benefiting the Brahmans. He resided on the Himalaya mountains and taught the Yoga. He had four chief disciples, one also termed Sveta, and the others Svetasikha, Svetasva [V. L. Svetasya], and Svetalohita. They had twenty-eight disciples—Sutara, Madana, Suhotra, Kankana, and twenty-four others. [In the 50th Chapter of the *Kurma Purana*, as quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma* s. v. Svetal, the names of the 28 disciples are given as follows:

*Subhavo Damanaschatha Suhotrah Kankanastatha
Lokakshiratha Yogindro Jaigishavyastu saptame
ashtame Dadhibahuh syannavame Vrishabhprabhuh
Bhrigustu dasame proktastasmad-Ugrah parah smritah
dvadase' Arih samakhyato Bali chatha trayodase
chaturdase Gautamastu Vedasirsha tatah param
Gokarnaschabhavastasmad Guhavasah Sikhandyatha
Jatamalyattahasascha Daruko Langali kramat
Svetastathaparah Suli Tindi Mundi cha vai kramat
Sahishnuh Somasurma cha Nakuliso'ntime prabhuh
Vaivasvate'ntare Sambhoravatastrastrisulnah
astavimsatirakhyata hyante Kaliyuge prabhoh.*

Of these, four, whose names are not mentioned, had ninety-seven disciples, masters of the Yoga and inferior portions of Siva. Those Brahmans who recite the names of these teachers and offer to them libations acquire Brahmavidya, or knowledge of spirit. That this long string of one hundred and twenty-five

and his attendants, belong to the same sect¹²³; whilst the philosophical tenets of Patanjali are as ancient perhaps as most of the other philosophical systems, and are prior to the Puranas by which they are inculcated in a popular form. The practices of the Yoga are also frequently alluded to, and enforced in the *Mahabharat*¹²⁴. There is little reason to question therefore the existence and popularity of the Yoga in the early centuries of the Christian era, but whether it was known and cultivated earlier must be matter of vague conjecture alone. As represented in the *Sankaravijaya* (Section 41), the Yogis vindicate their doctrine by texts from the Vedas, but the applicability of the texts is there denied, and is certainly far from conclusive or satisfactory.

The principal mode in which the Yoga takes a popular shape in Upper India is probably of comparatively recent origin. This is the sect of Kanphata Yogis, who acknowledge as their founder a teacher named Gorakhnath, traces of whom are found in a Gorakhhshetra at Peshawer, mentioned by Abulfazl, and in the district and town of Gorakhpur, where also exist a temple and religious establishment of his followers. They hold also in veneration a plain near Dwaraka, named Gorakhhkheta, and a cavern or subterraneous passage at Haridwar. The Saiva temples of Nepal, those of Sambunath, Pasupati-nath, and others, belong to the same system, although local legends attached to them have combined in a curious manner the fictions of the Buddha with those of the Brahmanical mythology¹²⁵.

names is wholly fictitious, seems improbable, although the list is possibly not very accurate. The four primitive teachers may be imaginary; but it is a curious circumstance that the word Sveta, white, should be the leading member of each appellation, and that in the person of Siva and his first disciple it should stand alone as Sveta, the white. Siva, however, is always painted white, and the names may be contrived accordingly... [See also Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, 420 ff. and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 1100.]

123 In the temples of Salsette, Elephanta, and Ellora the principal figure is mostly Siva, decorated with ear-rings, such as are still worn by the Kanphata Yogis; the walls are covered with ascetics in the various Asanas, or positions in which the Yogi is to sit; a favourite subject of sculpture at Elephanta and Ellora is the sacrifice of Daksha disconcerted, and the guests, though saints and gods, put to rout, bruised and mutilated by Virabhadra and the Ganas of Siva in revenge for that deity's not having been invited, a story told in most of the Puranas which inculcate the Yoga tenets. The cells attached to some of the temples are also indicative of Yogi residence, and one of the caves of Salsette is named that of Yogisvara, or Siva, as lord of the Yogis. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. Vols. 1 and 2.

124 These allusions occur in the Vana Parva chiefly; whilst in the Udyoga Parva [c. 38-45. Vol. II, p. 144 ff.] the observances of the Yoga are detailed at considerable length, and strenuously enjoined.

125 See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, page 471, and Note.

From a Goshthi¹²⁶, or controversial dialogue, between Kabir and Gorakhnath it would seem that they were personally known to each other, but various texts in the *Bijak* allude to him as if recently deceased. In either case these two teachers may have been contemporaries, or nearly so, and the latter therefore flourished in the beginning of the 15th century. According to his followers he was an incarnation of Siva ; but in the controversial tract above named he calls himself the son of Matsyendra Nath, and grandson of Adinath¹²⁷. Matsyendra Nath appears to have been the individual who introduced the Yoga Saivism into Nepal : one of the works of the sect, the *Hatha Pradipa*, makes Matsyendra prior to Gorakh by five spiritual descents¹²⁸, and this would place the former in the 14th century, supposing the Kabir work to be correct in the date it attributes to the latter.

If the date assigned by Hamilton to the migration of the Hindu tribes from Chitaur, the beginning of the 14th century, be accurate¹²⁹, it is probable that this was the period at which the worship of Siva, agreeably to the doctrines of Matsyendra, or Gorakh, was introduced there, and into the eastern provinces of Hindusthan.

The temple of Gorakhnath at Gorakhpur, according to the local tradition, was founded by Siva in the second or Treta

¹²⁶ This has been printed in the first volume of *Hindee and Hindustani Selections*, for the use of the Interpreters of the Bengal Army, compiled by Price. The discussion, in the form of a dialogue, occurs page 140.

¹²⁷ *Adinatha ke nati machchhendranath ke puta*
Main jogi gorakh abadhuta.

¹²⁸ The list of teachers is thus particularised [The names in parenthesis are the readings of the Berlin MS. ap. Weber, Catal. p. 195 ff.] :

Adinath. 2. Matsyendra. 3. Sambara [Sarada]. 4. Ananda. 5. Bhairava. 6. Chaurangi [Chaurangi]. 7. Mena [Mina]. 8. Goraksha. 9. Virupaksha. 10. Vilesa [Vilesi]. 11. Manthana Bhairava. 12. Siddhabuddha [Suddhabuddha]. 13. Kanthada [Srukandali]. 14. Paurandaka [Puratanka]. 15. Surananda. 16. Siddhapada [Suddhapadda]. 17. Churpati [Charpati]. 18. Kaneri. 19. Pujoyapada [Purvapada]. 20. Nityanatha [Dhvaninatha]. 21. Niranjana. 22. Kapala [Kapali]. 23. Bindu [Bindunatha]. 24. Kakachandisvara. 25. Allama. 26. Prabhudeva. 27. Gorachili [Ghodacholi]. 28. Dindima [Tintini]. 29. Bhaluki. 30. Nagabodha. 31. Chandakapalika [Shandakapalika.]

The author of the *Hulha Pradipa*, Atmarama, states that these and many more Mahasiddhas, or perfect Yogis, are in existence. His names are possibly those of the Mahants of a particular establishment: some of them are very unlike Hindu appellatives. If the date assigned to Gorakhnath in the text be rightly conjectured, we cannot assign much more than fifteen years to each of his successors.

¹²⁹ Hamilton's *Nepal*, page 14.

age. Of its revolutions subsequent to that period no account was preserved, until it was converted into a Muhammadan mosque by Ala-ud-din. The temple, after some interval, was re-built in a different situation by an association of the followers of Gorakhnath, and this was possibly the period at which the sect assumed its present form. A similar fate, however, attended this edifice, and it was appropriated by Aurangzeb to the Muhammadan religion. A second interval elapsed before a shrine was again erected to Gorakhnath, when it was re-built on the spot on which it now stands by Buddhanath according to instructions communicated to him by Gorakhnath in person. The present temple is situated to the west of the City of Gorakhpur, and attached to it on the south are three temples consecrated to Mahadeva, Pasupatinath, and Hanuman. The inclosure also comprehends the tombs of several eminent members of this communion and the dwellings of the Mahant and his resident disciples.

Gorakhnath was a man of some acquirement, and has left specimens of his scholarship in two Sanskrit Compositions, the *Goraksha sataka* and *Goraksha kalpa* : third, the *Goraksha sahasra Nama* is, probably, of his writing. The celebrated Bhartrihari, the brother of Vikramaditya, is said to have been one of his disciples, but chronology will not admit of such an approximation. According to the authorities of the sect Gorakh is but one of nine eminent teachers, or Naths. Of the perfect Yogis, or Siddhas, eighty-four are enumerated ; but it is said, that there have been many more, of whom several are still upon the surface of the earth.

The Yogis of Gorakhnath are usually called Kanphatas from having their ears bored and rings inserted in them at the time of their initiation. They may be of any caste ; they live as ascetics, either singly or in Maths¹³⁰. Siva is the object of their worship—they officiate indeed as the priests of that deity in some places, especially at the celebrated Lat, or Staff, of Bhairava at Banaras. They mark the forehead with a transverse line of ashes, and smear the body with the same ; they dress in various styles, but in travelling usually wear a cap of patch-work and garments dyed with red ochre. Some wear simply a Dhoti, or cloth round the loins.

¹³⁰ Solitary and independent living, however, appears to be improper, if the authority of the *Hatha Pradipa* is to be depended upon: "In a well-governed and well-regulated country, fertile and prosperous, the Hatha Yogi (he who upholds the world in eternal continuity) should reside in a solitary cell within the precincts of a Math." Other directions follow applicable to most establishments of a similar nature. The cell should have a small door, be neither too lofty, nor too low, be well smeared with cow-dung, and should be kept clean and free from reptiles: the Math should have a temple, a mound or altar, and a well adjoining, and be enclosed by a wall.

The term *Yogi*, in popular acceptance, is of almost as general application as *Sannyasi* and *Vairagi* ; and it is difficult to fix its import upon any individual class besides the *Kanphata* : the vagrants so called following usually the dictates of their own caprice as to worship and belief, and often, it may be conceived, employing the character as a mere plea for a lazy livelihood. The *Yogis* are, indeed, particularly distinguished amongst the different mendicant characters by adding to their religious personification more of the mountebank than any others : most of the religious mendicants, it is true, deal in fortune-telling, interpretation of dreams, and palmistry ; they are also often empirics, and profess to cure diseases with specific drugs, or with charms and spells : but besides these accomplishments, the *Yogi* is frequently musical, and plays and sings ; he also initiates animals into his business, and often travels about with a small bullock, a goat, or a monkey, whom he has taught to obey his commands, and to exhibit amusing gesticulations. The dress of this class of *Yogis* is generally a cap and coat, or frock of many colours : they profess to worship *Siva*, and often carry the *Linga*, like the *Jangamas*, in the cap ; all classes and sects assume the character, and Muhammadan fakirs are not uncommon. One class of the Hindu *Yogis* is called *Sarangihar*, from their carrying a *Sarangi*, or a stringed instrument, with which they accompany their songs : these are usually *Bhasha* stanzas on religious or mythological topics, amongst which stanzas ascribed to *Bhartrihari*, and a Pauranic legend of the marriage of *Siva* and *Parvati*, are particularly celebrated. The *Sarangihars* beg in the name of *Bhairava* : another sect of them, also followers of that deity, are termed *Dorihars* from their trafficking in small pedlary, especially the sale of thread and silk, to the housewives of the villages ; another class adopt the name of *Matsyendris*, or *Machchhendris*, from *Matsyendra*, whom they regard as their founder ; and a fourth sect are *Bhartriharis* from a traditional reference to him as the institutor of this particular order. The varieties of this class of mendicants, however, cannot be specified : they are all errants, fixed residences, or *Maths*, of any *Yogis* except the *Kanphatas* rarely occurring : an observation that will apply to perhaps all the *Saiva* sects, of whom it yet remains to give an account.

JANGAMAS

The worship of *Siva*, under the type of the *Linga*, it has been observed, is almost the only form in which that deity is revered¹³¹.

¹³¹ Its prevalence throughout the whole tract of the Ganges as far as Banaras is sufficiently conspicuous. In Bengal the temples are commonly erected in a range of six, eight, or twelve, on each side of a Ghat leading to the river. At Kalna is a circular group

It is also perhaps the most ancient object of homage adopted in India subsequently to the ritual of the Vedas, which was chiefly, if not wholly, addressed to the elements, and particularly to Fire. How far the worship of the Linga is authorised by the Vedas, is doubtful but it is the main purport of several of the Puranas¹³². There can be not doubt of its universality at the period of the Muhammadan invasion of India. The idol destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni was nothing more than a Linga, being, according to Mirkhond, a block of stone four or five cubits long and of proportionate thickness¹³³.

of one hundred and eight temples erected by the Raja of Bardwan. Each of the temples in Bengal consists of a single chamber, of a square form, surmounted by a pyramidal centre; the area of each is very small, the Linga, of black or white marble, occupies the centre; the offerings are presented at the threshold. Banaras, however, is the peculiar seat of this form of worship: the principal deity Visvesvara, as observed already, is a Linga, and most of the chief objects of the pilgrimage are similar blocks of stone. Particular divisions of the pilgrimage direct visiting forty-seven Lingas, all of pre-eminent sanctity; but there are hundreds of inferior note still worshipped, and thousands whose fame and fashion have passed away. If we may believe Siva, indeed, he counted a hundred Pararddhyas in Kasi, of which, at the time he is supposed to tell this to Devi, he adds sixty crore, or six hundred millions, were covered by the waters of the Ganges. A Pararddhya is said, by the commentator on the *Kasi Khanda*, in which this dialogue occurs, to contain as many years of mortals as are equal to fifty of Brahma's years. Notwithstanding the acknowledged purport of this worship, it is but justice to state, that it is unattended in Upper India by any indecent or indelicate ceremonies, and it requires a rather lively imagination to trace any resemblance in its symbols to the objects they are supposed to present. The absence of all indecency from public worship and religious establishments in the Gangetic Provinces was fully established by the Vindicator of the Hindus, General Stuart, and in every thing relating to actual practice better authority cannot be desired. *Vindication*, Part 1st, 99, and more particularly Part 2nd, 135.

132 The *Skanda Purana*, which contains the *Kasi Khanda*, particularly inculcates the worship of Siva in this form; so do the *Siva*, *Brahmanda*, and *Linga Puranas*.

133 The following is the passage from the *Rauzat us Ssafa* alluded to: "The temple in which the Idol of Somnath stood was of considerable extent, both in length and breadth, and the roof was supported by fifty-six pillars in rows. The Idol was of polished stone, its height was about five cubits, and its thickness in proportion: two cubits were below ground. Mahmud having entered the temple broke the stone Somnath with a heavy mace: some of the fragments he ordered to be conveyed to Ghizni, and they were placed at the threshold of the great Mosque." Another authority, the *Tabakati Akbari*, a history of Akbar's reign, with a preliminary Sketch of Indian History, has the following: "In the year 415 (Hijra) Mahmud determined to lead an army against Somnath, a city on the sea-shore, with a temple appertaining to the followers of Brahma; the temples contained many idols, the principal of which was named Somnath. It is related in some

It was, in fact, one of the twelve great Lingas then set up in various parts of India, several of which, besides Somesvara, or Somanath, which was the name of the Siva demolished by Mahmud, were destroyed by the early Muhammadan conquerors¹³⁴. Most, if not all of them, also are named in works,

histories that this idol was carried from the Kaaba, upon the coming of the Prophet, and transported to India. The Brahmanical records, however, refer it to the time of Krishna, or an antiquity of 4000 years. Krishna himself is said to have disappeared at this place."

"When the Sultan arrived at Neherwaleh (the capital of Gujarat), he found the city deserted, and carrying off such provisions as could be procured he advanced to Somnath: the inhabitants of this place shut their gates against him, but it was soon carried by the irresistible valour of his troops, and a terrible slaughter of its defenders ensued. The temple was levelled with the ground: the idol Somnath, which was of stone, was broken to pieces, and in commemoration of the victory a fragment was sent to Ghazni, where it was laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and was there many years."

See also *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, VII, p. 883 ff., XII, p. 73 ff. *Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S.*, II, 11-21. *Asiatic Journal* for 1843, May and Novbr.

These statements show that the idol was nothing more than a block of stone of very moderate dimensions, like the common representation of the type of Siva. Ferishta, however, has converted it into something very different, or a colossal figure of the deity himself, and following Dow's version of that compiler, the historian of British India gives the following highly coloured account of a transaction which never took place. "Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol, Mahmud aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck off from its face. In vehement trepidation the Brahmans crowded round and offered millions to spare the god. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, ventured to counsel acceptance. Mahmud, crying out that he valued the title of breaker not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow the belly of the idol burst open, and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmud, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmans!" (Vol. I, 491.)

134 The twelve Lingas are particularised in the *Kedara Kalpa*, of the *Nandi Upapurana* [See also *Sivapurana* c. 44-61 ap. Aufcht, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Sanskr. Bibl. Bodl.*, I, p. 64; ib. p. 81, and Weber, *Catal.* p. 347, No. 1242.], where Siva is made to say: "I am omnipresent, but I am especially in twelve forms and places." These he enumerates, and they are as follow:

1. Somanatha, in Saurashtra, i.e., Surat, in its most extensive sense, including part of Gujarat, where, indeed, Pattana Somnath, or the city of Somnath, is still situated.

2. Mallikarjuna, or Sri Salla, described by Colin Mackenzie, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 5th.

3. Mahakala, in Ujjain. This deity of stone was carried to Delhi, and broken there upon the capture of Ujjain by Altumsh. A.D. 1231.—Dow. According to the *Tabakati Akbari* the shrine was then three hundred years old.

4. Omkara is said to have been in Ujjain, but it is probably

of which the date cannot be much later than the eighth or ninth century, and it is therefore to be inferred with as much certainty as anything short of positive testimony can afford, that the worship of Siva, under this type, prevailed throughout India at least as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. Considered as one great branch of the universal public worship, its prevalence, no doubt, dates much earlier; but the particular modifications under which the several types received their local designations, and became entitled to special reverence, are not in every case of remote antiquity.

One of the forms in which the Linga worship appears is that of the Lingayats, Lingavants, or Jangamas, the essential characteristic of which is wearing the emblem on some part of the dress or person. The type is of a small size, made of copper or silver, and is commonly worn suspended in a case round the neck, or sometimes tied in the turban. In common with the Saivas generally the Jangamas smear their foreheads with Vibhuti or ashes, and wear necklaces, and carry rosaries, made of the Rudraksha seed. The clerical members of the sect usually stain their garments with red ochre. They are not numerous in Upper India, and are rarely encountered except as mendicants leading about a bull, the living type of Nandi, the bull of Siva, decorated with housings of various colours, and strings of Cowri shells: the conductor carries a bell in his hand, and

the shrine of Mahadeo at Omkara Mandatta [Mandhatta] on the Narmada.

5. Amaresvara is also placed in Ujjain: an ancient temple of Mahadeo on a hill near Ujjain is noticed by Hunter, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 6th, but he does not give the name or form.

6. Vaidyanath, at Deoghar in Behar; the temple is still in being, and is a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

7. Ramesa, at Setubandha, the island of Ramisseram, between Ceylon and the Continent; this Lingam is fabled to have been set up by Rama. The temple is still in tolerable repair, and is one of the most magnificent in India. The gateway is one hundred feet high. It has been repeatedly described, and is delineated in Daniel's *Superb Plates of Indian Antiquities*, from which it has been copied into Langles' *Monuments de L'Hindoostan*.

8. Bhimasankara, in Dakini, which is in all probability the same with Bhimesvara, a Linga worshipped at Dracharam in the Rajamahendri district, and there venerated as one of the principal twelve.

[9. Visvesvara, at Banaras.]

10. Tryambaka, on the banks of the Gomati; whether the temple still exists I have no knowledge.

11. Gautamesa is another of the twelve, whose original site and present fate are uncertain.

12. Kedaresa, or Kedaranath, in the Himalaya, has been repeatedly visited by late travellers. The deity is represented by a shapeless mass of rock.

thus accompanied goes about from place to place, subsisting upon alms. In the South of India the Lingayats are very numerous, and the officiating priests of the Saiva shrines are commonly of this sect¹³⁵, when they bear the designations of Aradhya and Pandaram¹³⁶. The sect is also there known by the name of Vira Saiva. The following account of the restorer, if not the founder of the faith, as well as a specimen of the legends by which it is maintained, are derived from the *Basava Purana*.

According to the followers of this faith, which prevails very extensively in the Dekhan, Basva, Basava, or Basvana or Basvapa or Basavappa, different modes of writing his name, only restored this religion, and did not invent it. This person, it is said, was the son of Madiga Raya, a Brahman, and Madevi, written also Madala arasu and Mahamba, inhabitants of Hingulesvar Parvati Agraharam, on the west of Sri Saila, and both devout worshippers of Siva. In recompense of their piety Nandi, the bull of Siva, was born on earth as their son, becoming incarnate by command of Siva, on his learning from Narada the decline of the Saiva faith and prevalence of other less orthodox systems of religion. The child was denominated after the Basva or Basava, the bull of the deity. On his arriving at the age of investiture he refused to assume the thread ordinarily worn by Brahmans, or to acknowledge any Guru except Isvara or Siva. He then departed to the town of Kalyan, the capital of Bijala or Vijala Raya, and obtained in marriage Gangamba, the daughter of the Dandanayak, or minister of police. From thence he repaired to Sangamesvara, where he received from Sangamesvara Svami initiation in the tenets of the Vira Saiva faith. He was invited back from this place to succeed his father-in-law upon his decease in the office he had held.

After his return to Kalyan, his sister, who was one of his first disciples, was delivered of a son, Chenna Basava, who is not infrequently confounded with his uncle, and regarded, perhaps more correctly, as the founder of the sect.

After recording these events the work enumerates various marvellous actions performed by Basava and several of his disciples, such as converting grains of corn to pearls—discovering hidden treasures—feeding multitudes—healing the sick, and restoring the dead to life. The following are some of the anecdotes narrated in the *Purana*.

¹³⁵ They also officiate in this capacity at the temple of Kedaranath, in Banaras.

¹³⁶ This word seems to be properly Panduranga, pale complexioned, from their smearing themselves with ashes. It is so used in Hemachandra's history of Mahavira, when speaking of the Saiva Brahmans.

Basava having made himself remarkable for the profuse bounties he bestowed upon the Jangamas, helping himself from the royal treasury for that purpose, the other ministers reported his conduct to Bijala, who called upon him to account for the money in his charge. Basava smiled, and giving the keys of the treasury to the king, requested him to examine it, which being done, the amount was found wholly undiminished. Bijala thereupon caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever calumniated Basava should have his tongue cut out.

A Jangama, who cohabited with a dancing girl, sent a slave for his allowance of rice to the house of Basava, where the messenger saw the wife of the latter, and on his return reported to the dancing girl the magnificence of her attire. The mistress of the Jangama was filled with a longing for a similiar dress, and the Jangama having no other means of gratifying her repaired to Basava, to beg of him his wife's garment. Basava immediately stripped Gangamba, his wife, and other dresses springing from her body, he gave them all to the Jangama.

A person of the name of Kanapa, who regularly worshipped the image of Ekamresvara, imagining the eyes of the deity were affected, plucked out his own, and placed them in the sockets of the figure. Siva, pleased with his devotion, restored his worshipping his eyes.

A devout Saiva named Mahadevala Machaya, who engaged to wash for all the Jangamas, having killed a child, the Raja ordered Basava to have him secured and punished ; but Basava declined undertaking the duty, as it would be unavailing to offer any harm to the worshippers of Siva. Bijala persisting sent his servants to seize and tie him to the legs of an elephant, but Machaya caught the elephant by the trunk, and dashed him and his attendants to pieces. He then proceeded to attack the Raja, who being alarmed applied to Basava, and by his advice humbled himself before the offended Jangama. Basava also deprecated his wrath, and Machaya being appeased forgave the king and restored the elephant and the guards to life.

A poor Jangama having solicited alms of Kinnarayu, one of Basava's chief disciples, the latter touched the stones about them with his staff, and converting them into gold told the Jangama to help himself.

The work is also in many places addressed to the Jainas in the shape of a dialogue between some of the Jangama saints and the members of that faith, in which the former narrate to the latter instances of the superiority of the Saiva religion, and the falsehood of the Jain faith, which appears to have been that of Bijala Raya, and the great part of the population of Kalyana. In order to convert them Ekanta Ramaya, one of Basava's disciples, cut off his head in their presence, and then marched five

days in solemn procession through and round the city, and on the fifth day replaced his head upon his shoulders. The Jain temples were thereupon, it is said, destroyed by the Jangamas. It does not appear, however, that the king was made a convert, or that he approved of the principles and conduct of his minister. He seems, on the contrary, to have incurred his death by attempting to repress the extension of the Vira Saiva belief. Different authorities, although they disagree as to the manner in which Bijala was destroyed, concur in stating the fact : the following account of the transaction is from the present work.

"In the city of Kalyana were two devout worshippers of Siva, named Allaya and Madhuvaya. They fixed their faith firmly on the divinity they adored, and assiduously revered their spiritual preceptor, attending upon Basava whithersoever he went. The king, Bijala, well knew their merits, but closed his eyes to their superiority, and listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies commanded the eyes of Allaya and Madhuvaya to be plucked out. The disciples of Basava, as well as himself, were highly indignant at the cruel treatment of these holy men, and leaving to Jagaddeva the task of putting Bijala to death, and denouncing imprecations upon the city they departed from Kalyana. Basava fixed his residence at Sangamesvara.

Machaya, Bommidevaya, Kinnara, Kannatha, Bommadeva, Kakaya, Masanaya, Kolakila Bommadeva, Kesirajaya, Mathirajaya, and others, announced to the people that the fortunes of Bijala had passed away, as indicated by portentous signs; and accordingly the crows crowed in the night, jackals howled by day; the sun was eclipsed, storms of wind and rain came on, the earth shook, and darkness overspread the havens. The inhabitants of Kalyana were filled with terror.

When Jagaddeva repaired home, his mother met him, and told him that when any injury had been done to a disciple of the Saiva faith his fellow should avenge him or die. When Daksha treated Siva with contumely, Parvati threw herself into the flames, and so, under the wrong offered to the saints, he should not sit down contented : thus saying, she gave him food at the door of his mansion. Thither also came Mallaya and Bommaya, two others of the saints, and they partook of Jagaddeva's meal. Then smearing their bodies with holy ashes, they took up the spear, and sword, and shield, and marched together against Bijala. On their way a bull appeared, whom they knew to be a form of Basava come to their aid, and the bull went first even to the court of the king, goring any one that came in their way, and opening a clear path for them. Thus they reached the court, and put Bijala to death in the midst of all his courtiers, and then they danced, and proclaimed the cause why they had put the king to death. Jagaddeva on his way back recalling the words of his mother stabbed himself. Then arose

dissension in the city, and the people fought amongst themselves, and horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, until, agreeably to the curse denounced upon it by Basava and his disciples, Kalyana was utterly destroyed.

Basava continued to reside at Sangamesvara, conversing with his disciples, and communing with the divine Essence, and he expostulated with Siva, saying : 'By thy command have I, and thy attendant train, come upon earth, and thou hast promised to recall us to thy presence when our task was accomplished.' Then Siva and Parvati came forth from the Sangamesvara Lingam, and were visible to Basava, who fell on the ground before them. They raised him, and led him to the sanctuary, and all three disappeared in the presence of the disciples, and they praised their master, and flowers fell from the sky, and then the disciples spread themselves abroad, and made known the absorption of Basava into the emblem of Siva."—*Mackenzie Collection*., Vol. 2nd. Halakanara MSS, [pp. 3—12.]

The date of the events here recorded is not particularised, but from various authorities they may be placed with confidence in the early part of the eleventh century¹³⁷.

The Mackenzie Collection, from which the above is taken, contains a number of works¹³⁸ of a similar description in the ancient Kanara dialect. There are also several works of the same nature in Telugu, as the *Basavesvara Purana*, *Panditaradhyā Charitra*, and others. Although the language of these compositions may now have become obscure or obsolete, it is not invariably so, and at any rate was once familiar. This circumstance, and the marvellous character of the legends they relate, specimens of which have been given in the above account of the founder of the sect, adapted them to the comprehension and taste of the people at large, and no doubt therefore exercised a proportionate influence. Accordingly Wilks, Buchanan, and Dubois represent the Lingavants as very numerous in the Dekhan, especially in Mysore, or those countries constituting ancient Kanara, and they are also common in Telingana. In Upper India there are no popular works current, and the only authority is a learned Bhashya, or Comment, by Nilkantha,

¹³⁷ Mark Wilks gives the same date (*Mysore I*, 506), but terms the founder Dhen Bas Ishwar, intending clearly Chenna (little) Basava, the nephew of Basava, or Basavesvara. Buchanan has the name Basvana (*Mysore*, I, 240), but agrees nearly in the date, placing him about seven hundred years ago.

¹³⁸ As the *Basvana Purana*, *Chenna Basava Purana*, *Prabhulinga Lila*, *Saranu Lilamrita*, *Viraktaru Kavyam*, and others, containing legends of a vast number of Jangama Saints and Teachers.—*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. 2, [pp. 12-32. See also *Madras Journal*, Vol. XI, p. 143 ff, and Graul, *Reise nach Indien*, Vol. V, p. 185 and 360.]

on the Sutras of Vyasa, a work not often met with, and, being in Sanskrit, unintelligible to the multitude¹³⁹.

PARAMAHANSA

According to the introduction to the *Dwadasa Mahavakya*, by a Dandi author, Vaikuntha Puri, the Sannyasi is of four kinds, the Kutichara, Bahudaka, Hansa, and Paramahansa: the difference between whom, however, is only the graduated intensity of their self-mortification and profound abstraction. The Paramahansa¹⁴⁰ is the most eminent of these gradations, and is the ascetic who is solely occupied with the investigation of Brahma, or spirit, and who is equally indifferent to pleasure or pain, insensible of heat or cold, and incapable of satiety or want¹⁴¹.

Agreeably to this definition, individuals are sometimes met with who pretend to have attained such a degree of perfection :

139 Besides the Jangama priests of Kedaranath, an opulent establishment of them exists at Banaras: its wealth arises from a number of houses occupying a considerable space, called the Jangam Bari: the title to the property is said to be a grant to the Jangamas, regularly executed by Man Sinh, and preserved on a copper plate: the story with which the vulgar are deluded is, that it was granted by one of the Emperors of Hindusthan in consequence of a miracle performed by a Jangama devotee. In proof of the veracity of his doctrine he proposed to fly: the Emperor promised to give him as much ground as he could traverse in that manner: not quite satisfied of the impossibility of the feat, he had a check string tied to the ascetic's legs, and held by one of the attendants: the Jangama mounted, and when he reached the limits of the present Jangama Bari, the Emperor thinking that extent of ground sufficiently liberal had him constrained to fly back again.

140 Moor, in his *Hindu Pantheon* (page 352), asserts, upon, as he says, authentic information, that the Paramahansas eat human flesh, and that individuals of this sect are not very unusually seen about Banaras, floating down the river, and feeding upon a corpse; it is scarcely necessary to add that he is wholly wrong: the passage he cites from the Researches is quite correct, when it describes the Paramahansa as an ascetic of the orthodox sects, in the last stage of exaltation; and the practice he describes, although far from usual, is sometimes heard of as a filthy exhibition displayed for profit by individuals of a very different sect, those who occupy the ensuing portion of the present text—the Aghoris,

141 [Jatarupavero nirdvandvo niragrahastattvabrahmamarge samyaksampannah suddhamanasah pranasandharanartham yathoktakale bhaiskshamacharanlabhalabhau samau kritva sunyagara-devagrihatrinakutavalmikavrikshamulakulalasalagnihotranadipulin-agirikuharakandarakotaranikarasthandileshtvaniketavasi nishprayatno nirmamah sukladhyana-parayano 'dhyatmanishtah subhasubhakarmannirmulanaya samnyasena dehatyagam karoti yah sa eva paramahansa nama. *Jivanamuktiviveka* (Weber: *Catal* p. 195) quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma* s. v. Paramahansah. See also Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 77, 78. 173-6.]

in proof of it they go naked in all weathers, never speak, and never indicate any natural want : what is brought to them as alms or food, by any person, is received by the attendants, whom their supposed sanctity or a confederation of interest attaches to them, and by these attendants they are fed and served on all occasions, as if they were as helpless as infants. It may be supposed that, not infrequently, there is much knavery in this helplessness, but there are many Hindus whose simple enthusiasm induces them honestly to practice such self-denial, and there is little risk in the attempt, as the credulity of their countrymen, of rather countrywomen, will in most places take care that their wants are amply supplied. These devotees are usually included amongst the Saiva ascetics ; but it may be doubted whether the classification is correct.

AGHORIS

The pretended insensibility of the Paramahansa being of a passive nature is at least inoffensive, and even where it is mere pretence the retired nature of the practice renders the deception little conspicuous or revolting. The same profession of worldly indifference characterises the Aghori, or Aghorapanthi ; but he seeks occasions for its display and demands alms as a reward for its exhibition.

The original Aghori worship seems to have been that of Devi in some of her terrific forms, and to have required even human victims for its performance¹⁴². In imitation of the formidable aspect under which the goddess was worshipped, the appearance of her votary was rendered as hideous as possible, and his wand and water-pot were a staff set with bones and the upper half of a skull : the practices were of a similar nature, and flesh and spirituous liquors constituted, at will, the diet of the adept.

The regular worship of this sect has long since been suppressed, and the only traces of it now left are presented by a few disgusting wretches, who, whilst they profess to have adopted its tenets, make them a mere plea for extorting alms. In proof of their indifference to worldly objects, they eat and drink whatever is given to them, even ordure and carrion. They smear their bodies also with excrement, and carry it about

¹⁴² It may be credulity or calumny, but the Bhils, and other hill tribes, are constantly accused by Sanskrit writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as addicted to this sanguinary worship. The *Vrihat Katha* is full of stories to this effect, the scene of which is chiefly in the Vindhya range. Its covert existence in cities is inferable from the very dramatic situation in Bhavabhuti's drama, *Malati and Madhava*, where Madhava rescues his mistress from the Aghora Ghanta, who is about to sacrifice Malati at the shrine of Chamunda [Act V, p. 83].

with them in a wooden cup, or skull, either to swallow it, if by so doing they can get a few pice ; or to throw it upon the persons, or into the houses of those who refuse to comply with their demands. They also for the same purpose inflict gashes on their limbs, that the crime of blood may rest upon the head of the recusants ; and they have a variety of similar disgusting devices to extort money from the timid and credulous Hindu. They are fortunately not numerous, and are universally detested and feared.

URDDHABAHUS, AKAS MUKHIS AND NAKHIS

Personal privation and torture being of great efficacy in the creed of the Hindus, various individuals, some influenced by credulity, and some by knavery, have adopted modes of distorting their limbs, and forcing them out of their natural position, until they can no longer resume their ordinary direction.

The Urddhabahus¹⁴³ extend one or both arms above their heads, till they remain of themselves thus elevated. They also close the fist, and the nails being necessarily suffered to grow make their way between the metacarpal bones, and completely perforate the hand. The Urddhabahus are solitary mendicants, as are all of this description, and never have any fixed abode : they subsist upon alms ; many of them go naked, but some wear a wrapper stained with ochre ; they usually assume the Saiva marks, and twist their hair so as to project from the forehead, in imitation of the Jata of Siva.

The Akasmukhis¹⁴⁴ hold up their faces to the sky, till the muscles of the back of the neck become contracted, and retain it in that position : they wear the Jata, and allow the beard and whiskers to grow, smearing the body with ashes : some wear coloured garments : they subsist upon alms.

The Nakhis are of a similar description with the two preceding, but their personal characteristic is of a less extravagant nature, being confined to the length of their finger nails, which they never cut : they also live by begging, and wear the Saiva marks.

GUDARAS

The Gudas are so named from a pan of metal which they carry about with them, and in which they have a small fire, for the purpose of burning scented woods at the houses of the persons from whom they receive alms. These alms they do

¹⁴³ Urddha, above, and *Bahu*, the arm.

¹⁴⁴ *Akas*, the sky, and *Mukha*, the face.

not solicit further than by repeating the word *Alakh*¹⁴⁵, expressive of the indescribable nature of the deity. They have a peculiar garb, wearing a large round cap, and a long frock or coat stained with ochery clay. Some also wear ear-rings, like the *Kanphata Yogis*, or a cylinder of wood passed through the lobe of the ear, which they term the *Khechari Mudra*, the seal or symbol of the deity, of him who moves in the heavens.

RUKHARAS, SUKHARAS AND UKHARAS

The *Sukharas* are *Saiva* mendicants, distinguished by carrying a stick three spans in length : they dress in a cap and sort of petticoat stained with ochery earth, smear their bodies with ashes, and wear ear-rings of the *Rudraksha* seed. They also wear over the left shoulder a narrow piece of cloth dyed with ochre, and twisted, in place of the *Zannar*.

The *Rukharas* are of similar habits and appearance, but they do not carry the stick, nor wear the *Rudraksha* ear-rings, but in their place metallic ones : these two classes agree with the preceding in the watchword, exclaiming *Alakh*, as they pass along ; the term is, however, used by other classes of mendicants.

The *Ukharas* are said to be members of either of the preceding classes, who drink spirituous liquors, and eat meat : they appear to be the refuse of the three preceding mendicant classes, who, in general, are said to be of mild and inoffensive manners.

KARA LINGIS

These are vagabonds of little credit ; except sometimes amongst the most ignorant portions of the community, they are not often met with : they go naked, and to mark their triumph over sensual desires, affix an iron ring and chain on the male organ¹⁴⁶ : they are professedly worshippers of *Siva*.

SANNYASIS, BRAHMACHARIS AND AVADHUTAS

Although the terms *Sannyasi* and *Vairagi* are, in a great measure, restricted amongst the *Vaishnavas* to peculiar classes, the same limit can scarcely be adopted with regard to the *Saivas*. All the sects except the *Samyogi Atits*, are so far *Sannyasi*, or excluded from the world, as not to admit of married

¹⁴⁵ *A*, the negative prefix, and *Lakshma*, a mark, a distinction.

¹⁴⁶ These ascetics were the persons who attracted the notice of the earlier travellers, especially *Bernier* and *Tavernier*. They were more numerous then, probably, than they are at present, and this appears to be the case with most of the mendicants who practised on the superstitious admiration of the vulgar.

teachers, a circumstance far from uncommon, as we have seen amongst the more refined followers of Vishnu. Most of the Saiva sects, indeed, are of a very inferior description to those of the Vaishnavas.

Besides the individuals who adopt the Danda Grahana, and are unconnected with the Dasnamis, there is a set of devotees who remain through life members of the condition of the Brahmachari, or student¹⁴⁷: these are also regarded as Sannyasis, and where the term is used in a definite sense, these twelve kinds, the Dandis, Brahmacharis and ten Dasnami orders are implied. In general, however, the term, as well as Avadhuta, or Avdhauta, and Alakhnami, express all the Saiva classes of mendicants, except perhaps the Yogis.

NAGAS

The Saiva Sannyasis who go naked are distinguished by this term. They smear their bodies with ashes, allow their hair, beards, and whiskers to grow, and wear the projecting braid of hair, called the Jata; like the Vairagi Nagas, they carry arms, and wander about in troops, soliciting alms, or levying contributions. The Saiva Nagas are chiefly the refuse of the Dandi and Atit orders, or men who have no inclination for a life of study or business: when weary of the vagrant and violent habits of the Naga, they re-enter the better disposed classes, which they had first quitted. The Saiva Nagas are very numerous in many parts of India: they were formerly in great numbers in Bundelkhand¹⁴⁸, and Himmet Bahadur was a pupil of one of their Mahants, Rajendra Giri, one of the lapsed Dasnami ascetics. These Nagas are the particular opponents of the Vairagi Nagas, and were, no doubt, the leading actors in the bloody fray at Haridwar¹⁴⁹, which had excluded the Vaishnavas from

147 The Dirghakala Brahmacharyam, or protracted period of studentship, is however amongst the acts enumerated in various authorities of indisputable character, as those which are prohibited in the Kali age.

148 A party of them attacked Colonel Goddard's troops in their march between Doraval and Herapur, the assailants were no more than four or five hundred, but about two thousand hovered about the rear of the army: they are called Pandarams in the narrative, but were evidently Saiva Nagas. Pennant's *Hindustan*, 2, 192. The Vindicator of the Hindus, speaking of them, observes, that they often engage in the rival contests of the Indian Chiefs, and, on a critical occasion some years ago, six thousand of them joined the forces of the Mahratta Chief Sindiah, and enabled him, with an equal number of his own troops, to discomfit an army of thirty thousand men, headed by one of his rebellious subjects.

149 *Asiatic Researches* II, 455. It may be observed, that a very accurate account is given in the same place of the general appearance and habits of the Saiva Sannyasis and Yogis, the Vaishnava Vairagis, and Udasis of Nanakshah. The term Gossain,

the great fair there, from 1760, till the British acquired the country. The leader of the Saiva party was called Dhokal Giri, and he, as well as the spiritual guide of Himmeth Bahadur, was consequently of the Dasnami order which would thus seem to be addicted to violent and war-like habits. With respect to the sanguinary affray at Haridwar, in which we are told eighteen thousand Vairagis were left dead on the field, there is a different legend current of the origin of the conflict from that given in the Researches, but neither of them is satisfactory, nor indeed is any particular cause necessary, as the opposite objects of worship, and the pride of strength and numbers, and consequent struggle for pre-eminence are quite sufficient to account for the dispute¹⁵⁰.

SAKTAS

The worshippers of the Sakti, the power or energy of the divine nature in action, are exceedingly numerous amongst all classes of Hindus¹⁵¹. This active energy is, agreeably to the spirit of the mythological system, personified, and the form with which it is invested, considered as the especial object of veneration, depends upon the bias entertained by the individuals towards the adoration of Vishnu or Siva. In the former case the personified Sakti is termed Lakshmi, or Maha Lakshmi, and in the latter, Parvati, Bhavani, or Durga. Even Sarasvati enjoys some portion of homage, much more than her lord Brahma, whilst a vast variety of inferior beings of malevolent character and formidable aspect receive the worship of the multitude. The bride of Siva however, in one or other of her many and varied

as correlative to Sannyasi, is agreeable to common usage, but, as has been elsewhere observed, is more strictly applicable to very different characters.

150 The irregular practices of these and other mendicants have attracted the lash of Kabir in the following Ramaini: Ramaini 69. "I never beheld such a Yogi, oh brother! forgetting his doctrine he roves about in negligence. He follows professedly the faith of Mahadeva, and calls himself an eminent teacher; the scene of his abstraction is the fair or market. Maya is the mistress of the false saint. When did Dattatreya demolish a dwelling? when did Sukadeva collect an armed host? when did Narada mount a matchlock? when did Vyasadeva blow a trumpet? In making war, the creed is violated. Is he an Atit, who is armed with a quiver? Is he a Virakta, who is filled with covetousness? His garb is put to shame by his gold ornaments; he has assembled horses and mares, is possessed of villages, is called a man of wealth; a beautiful woman was not amongst the embellishments of Sanaka and his brethren; he who carries with him a vessel of ink, cannot avoid soiling his raiment."

151 It has been computed, that of the Hindus of Bengal at least three-fourths are of this sect: of the remaining fourth three parts are Vaishnavas, and one Saivas, &c.

forms, is by far the most popular emblem in Bengal and along the Ganges.

The worship of the female principle, as distinct from the divinity, appears to have originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the Vedas in which the will or purpose to create the universe is represented as originating from the creator, and co-existent with him as his consort, and part of himself. Thus in the *Rig Veda* it is said "That divine spirit breathed without afflation, single with (Svadhā) her who is sustained within him ; other than him nothing existed. First desire was formed in his mind, and that became the original productive seed"¹⁵², and the *Sama Veda*, speaking of the divine cause of creation, says, "He felt not delight, being alone. He wished another, and instantly became such. He caused his own self to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife. He approached her, and thus were human beings produced"¹⁵³. In these passages it is not unlikely that reference is made to the primitive tradition of the origin of mankind, but there is also a figurative representation of the first indication of wish or will in the Supreme Being. Being devoid of all qualities whatever, he was alone, until he permitted the wish to be multiplied, to be generated within himself. This wish being put into action, it is said, became united with its parent, and then created beings were produced. Thus this first manifestation of divine power is termed *Ichchharupa*, personified desire, and the creator is designated as *Svechchhamaya*¹⁵⁴, united with his own will, whilst in the Vedānta philosophy, and popular sects, such as that of Kabir, and others, in which all created things are held to be illusory, the *Sakti*, or active will of the deity, is always designated and spoken of as *Maya* or *Mahamaya*, original deceit or illusion¹⁵⁵.

Another set of nations of some antiquity which contributed to form the character of the *Sakti*, whether general or parti-

¹⁵² *Asiatic Researches*, VIII, 393 [Colebrooke's *Essays*. London: 1858, p. 17. Muller's *History of Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 560 ff. *Rig Veda* X, 129].

¹⁵³ *Asiatic Researches*, VIII, 420 [Colebrooke's *Essays*, p. 37. *Bṛihad Arany. Up.* I, 4, 3].

¹⁵⁴ Thus, in the *Brahma Vāivartta Purāna*, which has a whole section dedicated to the manifestations of the female principle, or a *Prakṛiti Khanda*: "The Lord was alone invested with the Supreme form, and beheld the whole world, with the sky and regions of space, a void. Having contemplated all things in his mind, he, without any assistant, began with the will to create all things. He, the Lord, endowed with the wish for creation."

¹⁵⁵ So also in the authority last quoted: "She (*Prakṛiti*) one with *Brahma* is *Maya*, eternal, everlasting;" and in the *Kalika Purāna*: *Prakṛiti* is termed "Inherent *Maya*, because she beguiles all beings."

cular, were derived from the Sankhya philosophy. In this system nature, Prakriti, or Mula Prakriti, is defined to be of eternal existence and independent origin, distinct from the supreme spirit, productive though no production, and the plastic origin of all things, including even the gods. Hence Prakriti has come to be regarded as the mother of gods and men, whilst as one with matter, the source of error, it is again identified with Maya, or delusion, and as co-existent with the supreme as his Sakti, his personified energy or his consort¹⁵⁶.

These mythological fancies have been principally disseminated by the Puranas, in all which Prakriti, or Maya, bears a prominent part. The aggregate of the whole is given in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*, one section of which, the Prakriti Khanda, is devoted to the subject, and in which the legends relating to the principal modifications of the female principle are narrated.

According to this authority, Brahma, or the supreme being, having determined to create the universe by his super-human power, became twofold, the right half becoming a male, the left half a female, which was Prakriti. She was of one nature with Brahma. She was illusion, eternal and without end : as is the soul, so is its active energy ; as the faculty of burning is in fire¹⁵⁷. In another passage it is said, that Krishna, who is in this work identified with the Supreme, being alone invested with the divine nature, beheld all one universal blank, and contemplating creation with his mental vision, he began to create all things by his own will, being united with his will, which became manifest as Mula Prakriti¹⁵⁸. The original Prakriti first assumed five forms¹⁵⁹—Durga the consort, Sakti, and Maya of Siva, Lakshmi the consort, Sakti and Maya of Vishnu, Saraswati the same of Brahma, or in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*, of Hari, whilst the next, Savitri is the consort

156 In the *Gita* [VII, 4] Prakriti is identified with all the elementary predicates of matter: "This, my Prakriti, is inherently eight-fold, or earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, individuality."

So also the *Kurma Purana* (Chapter 12): "His Energy, being the universal form of all the world, is called Maya, for so does the Lord the best of males and endowed will illusion cause it to revolve. That Sakti, of which the essence is illusion, is omniform and eternal, and constantly displays the universal shape of Mahesa."

157 "He, by the power of Yoga, became himself in the act of creation two-fold; the right half was the male, the left was called Prakriti." [1, 9. See Aufrecht, *Catal.* I, p. 23, a.] ,

158 "From the wish which was the creative impulse of Sri Krishna, endowed with his will, she, Mula Prakriti, the Supreme, became manifest." [ibid. sl. 12.]

159 "And she (the Mula Prakriti,) became in the act of creation five-fold by the will of the Supreme." [sl. 13.]

of considerable antiquity, other portions of most, if not of all, are undoubtedly subsequent to the tenth century of the Christian era. It is not unlikely, however, that several of the Tantras are of earlier composition, especially as we find the system they inculcate included by Anandagiri, in his life of Sankaracharya, amongst the heterodoxies which that Legislator succeeded in confuting. On the other hand there appears no indication of Tantrika notions in the *Mahabharat*, and the name of Tantra, in the sense of a religious text book, does not occur in the vocabulary of Amara Sinha. It may therefore be inferred, that the system originated at some period in the early centuries of Christianity, being founded on the previous worship of the female principle, and the practices of the Yoga with the Mantras, or mystical formulae of the Vedas. It is equally certain that the observances of the Tantras have been carried to more exceptionable extremes in comparatively modern times; and that many of the works themselves are of recent composition. They appear also to have been written chiefly in Bengal and the Eastern districts, many of them being unknown in the West and South of India, and the rites they teach having there failed to set aside the ceremonies of the Vedas, although they are not without an important influence upon the belief and the practices of the people.

The Tantras are too numerous to admit in this place of their specification, but the principal are the *Syama Rahasya*, *Rudra Yamala*, *Mantra Mahodadhi*, *Sarada Tilaka* and *Kalika Tantra*, whilst the *Kulachudamani*, *Kularnava*, and similar works, are the chief authorities of one portion of the Saktas, the sect being divided into two leading branches, the Dakshinacharis and Vamacharis, or followers of the right hand and left hand ritual.

DAKSHINAS OR BHAKTAS

When the worship of any goddess is performed in a public manner, and agreeably to the Vaidik or Pauranic ritual¹⁶⁵, it does not comprehend the impure practices which are attributed to a different division of the adorers of Sakti, and which are particularly prescribed to the followers of this system. In this form it is termed the Dakshina, or right hand form of worship¹⁶⁶. The only observance that can be supposed to form an excep-

¹⁶⁵ The peculiarities of this sect are described in the *Dakshinachara Tantra Raja*, a modern summary of the system, by Kasinath: according to this authority: "The ritual declared in the Tantras of the Dakshinacharas is pure and conformable to the Vedas."

¹⁶⁶ "The Vama ritual, although declared by me, was intended for Sudras only. A Brahman, from receiving spirituous liquor, forfeits his Brahmanical character—let it not be done—let it not ever be done. Goddess, it is brutality, never let it be practised."—*Ibid*.

tion to the general character of this mode is the Bali, an offering of blood, in which rite a number of helpless animals, usually kids, are annually decapitated. In some cases life is offered without shedding blood, when the more barbarous practice is adopted of pummelling with the fists the poor animal to death : at other times blood only is offered without injury to life. These practices, however, are not considered as orthodox, and approach rather to the ritual of the Vamacharis¹⁶⁷, the more pure Bali consisting of edible grain, with milk and sugar. Animal victims are also offered to Devi, in her terrific forms only, as Kali or Durga. The worship is almost confined to a few districts ; and, perhaps, is carried to no great extent.

Although any of the goddesses may be objects of the Sakta worship, and the term Sakti comprehends them all, yet the homage of the Saktas is almost restricted to the wife of Siva, and to Siva himself as identified with his consort¹⁶⁸. The sect is in fact a ramification from the common Saiva stock, and is referred to Siva himself as its institutor. In the Tantras, as has been noticed, he appears as its professor, expounding to Parvati the mantras, tenets, and observances of the Sakta worship, whether of the right or left hand description.

The worship of Devi, thus naturally resulting from the works on which the Sakta doctrines are founded, is one of considerable antiquity and popularity. Laying aside all uncertain and fabulous testimony, the adoration of Vindhya Vasini, near Mirzapur¹⁶⁹, has existed for more than seven centuries, and that of Jvalamukhi at Nagarkot very early attracted Muham-

167 "The Bali is of two kinds, Rajasa and Sattvika; the first consists of meat, and includes the three kinds of flesh; the second of pulse and rice-milk, with the three sweet articles, (ghee, honey, and sugar,) let the Brahman, always pure, offer only the Sattvika Bali."—*Ibid*.

The *Brahmavaivartta* also observes: "The animal sacrifices, it is true, gratify Durga; but they, at the same time, subject the sacrificer to the sin which attaches to the destroyer of animal life. It is declared by the Vedas, that he who slays an animal is hereafter slain by the slain."

168 "The joint form of Siva and Sakti is to be worshipped by the virtuous. Whoever adores Sakti, and offers not adoration to Siva, that Mantrika is diseased: he is a sinner, and hell will be his portion." For it appears that some of the Saktas elevate the Sakti above the Saktiman, or deity: thus the Vamis, in the *Sankara Vijaya*, say: "Sakti gives strength to Siva, without her he could not stir a straw. She is, therefore, the cause of Siva."

And again: "of the two objects which are eternal the greater is the Sakti."

169 It is frequently mentioned in the *Vrihat Katha*; the age of which work is ascertained to be about seven centuries. Nagarkot was taken by Firoz III, in 1360 (Dow 2, 55), at which time the goddess Jvalamukhi was then worshipped there.

madan persecution¹⁷⁰. These places still retain their reputation, and are the objects of pilgrimage to devout Hindus. On the eighth of the dark fortnight of Chaitra and Kartik in particular a numerous assemblage of pilgrims takes place at them.

The adoration of Kali, or Durga, is however particularly prevalent in Bengal, and is cultivated with practices scarcely known in most other provinces. Her great festival, the Dasahara, is in the west of India marked by no particular honours, whilst its celebration in Bengal occupies ten days of prodigal expenditure. This festival, the Durga Puja, is now well known to Europeans, as is the extensive and popular establishment near Calcutta, the temple of Kali at Kali Ghat. The rites observed in that place, and at the Durga Puja, however, almost place the Bengali Saktas amongst the Vamacharis, notwithstanding the rank assigned them in the *Dakshinachari Tantraraja*, which classes the Gauras with the Keralas and Kashmirians, as the three principal divisions of the purer worshippers of Sakti.

VAMIS OR VAMACHARIS

The Vamis mean the left hand worshippers, or those who adopt a ritual contrary to that which is usual, and to what indeed they dare publicly avow¹⁷¹. They worship Devi, the Sakti of Siva, but all the goddesses, as Lakshmi, Sarasvati, the Matris, the Nayikas, the Yoginis, and even the fiend-like Dakinis and Sakinis, are admitted to a share of homage. With them, as well as with the preceding sect, Siva is also an object of veneration, especially in the form of Bhairava, with which modification, of the deity it is the object of the worshipper to identify himself¹⁷².

The worship of the Vamacharis is derived from a portion of the Tantras : it resolves itself into various subjects, apparently into different sects, of which that of the Kaula, or Kulina, is declared to be pre-eminent¹⁷³. The object of the worship is, by the reverence of Devi or Sakti, who is one with Siva, to obtain

170 For a full account of both the work of Ward may be advantageously consulted—II, 89 to 96, and 125 to 131.

171 The following verse is from the *Syama Rahasya*: Inwardly Saktas, outwardly Saivas, or in society nominally Vaishnavas, the Kaulas assuming various forms, traverse the earth."

172 "I am Bhairava, I am the omniscient, endowed with qualities. Having thus meditated, let the devotee proceed to the Kula worship."—*Syama Bhasya*.

173 "The Vedas are pre-eminent over all works, the Vaishnava sect excels the Vedas, the Saiva sect is preferable to that of Vishnu, and the right hand Sakta to that of Saiva—the left hand is better than the right hand division, and the Siddhanta is better still—the Kaula is better than the Siddhanta, and there is none better than it."—*Kularnava*. The words Kaula and Kulina

supernatural powers in this life, and to be identified after death with Siva and Sakti.

According to the immediate object of the worshipper is the particular form of worship ; but all the forms require the use of some or all of the five Makaras¹⁷⁴, Mansa, Matsya, Madya, Maithuna, and Mudra, flesh, fish, wine, women, and certain mystical gesticulations. Suitable Mantras are also indispensable, according to the end proposed, consisting of various unmeaning monosyllable combinations of letters of great imaginary efficacy¹⁷⁵.

Where the object of the ceremony is to acquire an interview with and control over impure spirits, a dead body is necessary. The adept is also to be alone, at midnight, in a cemetery or place where bodies are burnt or buried, or criminals executed : seated on the corpse he is to perform the usual offerings, and if he does so without fear, the Bhutas, the Yoginis, and other male or female goblins become his slaves.

In this, and many of the observances practised, solitude is enjoined ; but all the principal ceremonies comprehend the worship of Sakti, and require for that purpose the presence of a female as the living representative and the type of the goddess. This worship is mostly celebrated in a mixed society, the men of which represent Bhairavas or Viras, and the women Bhairavis and Nayikas. The Sakti is personated by a naked female, to

are both derivatives from Kula, family; and the latter is especially applied to imply of good or high family: these terms have been adopted to signify, that those who follow this doctrine are not only of one, but of an exalted race.

174 They are thus enumerated in the *Syama Rahasya*: "Wine, flesh, fish, Mudra, and Maithuna, are the five-fold Makara, which takes away all sin." [See also *Pranatoshani*, Calcutta edition, p. 277, a.]

175 Many specimens might be given, but one will be here sufficient. It is the combination H and S as *hasa* and is one of the very few to which any meaning is attempted to be given: it is called the Prasada Mantra, and its virtues and import are thus described in the *Kularnava* [chapter 3]: "He who knows the excellent Prasada Mantra, that was promulgated by the fifth Veda, (the Tantras) and which is the supreme form of us both, is himself Siva: this Mantra is present in all beings that breathe, from Siva to a worm, and exists in states of expiration and inspiration." The letter H is the expired, and S the inspired letter, and as these two acts constitute life, the Mantra they express is the same with life: the animated world would not have been formed without it, and exists but as long as it exists, and it is an integral part of the universe, without being distinct from it, as the fragrance of flowers, and sweetness of sugar, oil of Sesamum seed, and Sakti of Siva. He who knows it needs no other knowledge—he who repeats it need practice no other act of adoration. The authority quoted contains a great deal more to the same purpose.

whom meat and wine are offered, and then distributed amongst the assistants, the recitation of various Mantras and texts, and the performance of the Mudra, or gesticulations with the fingers, accompanying the different stages of the ceremony, and it is terminated with . . . orgies amongst the votaries¹⁷⁶. The ceremony is entitled the Sri Chakra, or Purnabhisheka, the Ring, or Full Initiation.

¹⁷⁶ It might have been sufficient to have given this general statement, or even to have referred to the similar but fuller account of Ward: his information was however merely oral, and may therefore be regarded as unsatisfactory; and as it seems to be necessary to show that the charge is not altogether unfounded, I shall subjoin the leading rites of the Sakti Sodhana, or Sri Chakra, as they are prescribed in the *Devi Rahasya*, a section of the *Rudra Yamala*.

SAKTI SODHANA.

The object of the ceremony should be either:

- A Nati kapalini vesya rajaki napitangana
brahmani sudrakanya cha tatha gopalakanyaka
malakarasya kanya'pi navakanyah prakirtitah
etasu kachidaniya pujayech (chhakti) kaulikah.*

[The Pranatoshani in which (p. 300, b) the first 3 lines are quoted has instead of the fourth line the following:

- B viseshavaidagdhayutah sarvatraiva kulanganah
rupayauvanasampanna silasaubhagyasalini
pujaniya prayatnena tatah siddhirbhaveddhruvam.*

"A dancing girl, a female devotee, a harlot, a washerwoman, or barber's wife, a female of the Brahmanical or Sudra tribe, a flower girl, or a milk maid." It is to be performed at midnight, with a party of eight, nine, or eleven couple, as the Bhairavas and Bhairavis.

- C mahanisayamaniya navakanyascha bhairavan
ekadasa navashtau va kaulikah kaulikesvari
sodhayennavabhirmantraih pujayetkaulikottamah.*

Appropriate Mantras are to be used, according to the description of the person selected for the Sakti, who is then to be worshipped, according to prescribed form: she is placed disrobed, but richly ornamented, on the left of a circle (Chakra) described for the purpose, with various Mantras and gesticulations, and is to be rendered pure by the repetition of different formulas.

- D tadiyam mantramalikhy tasmintameva pujayet
srichakre sthapyavedvame kanyam bhairavavallabham
muktakesam vitalajjam sarvabharanabhushitam
anandalinahridayam saundaryatimonoharam
sodhayechchuddhimantrena suranandamritambubhih.*

Being finally sprinkled over with wine, the act being sanctified by the peculiar Mantra,

- E mantrenanena devevi kaminimabhishinchayet*

The Sakti is now purified, but if not previously initiated, she is to be further made an adept by the communication of the

The occurrence of these impurities is certainly countenanced by the texts, which the sects regard as authorities, and by a very general belief of their occurrence. The members of the sect are enjoined secrecy, which, indeed, it might be supposed they would observe on their own account, and, consequently, will not acknowledge their participation in such scenes. They will not, indeed, confess that they are of the Sakta sect, although their reserve in this respect is said, latterly, to be much relaxed. It is contrary, however, to all knowledge of the human character, to admit the possibility of these transactions in their fullest extent; and, although the worship of the Sakti, according to the above outline, may be sometimes performed, yet there can be little doubt of its being practised but seldom, and then in solitude and secrecy. In truth, few of the ceremonies, there is reason to believe, are ever observed; and, although the Chakra is said to be not uncommon, and by some of the zealous Saktas it is scarcely concealed, it is usually nothing more than a convivial party, consisting of the members of a single family, or at which men only are assembled, and the company are glad to eat flesh and drink spirits¹⁷⁷, under the pretence of a

radical Mantra whispered thrice in her ear, when the object of the ceremony is complete:

*evam sodhanamantraste samvarnitah prithagmaya
yonau jayetkumarinam kaulikah karamalaya
sanjapya dakshakarne cha mulamantram triruchoharet
adikshita'pi devesi dikshitaiva bhavettada
dikshitam sodhito viro bhavetsarvarthasiddhaye.*

The finale is what might be anticipated, but accompanied throughout with Mantras and forms of meditation suggesting notions very foreign to the scene.

*anandatarpitam kantam virah svanandavigraha
ratena tarpayettatra srichakre virasamsadi
pathanpranavamuddhritya mantrarajam kulesvari
dharmadharmahavirdipte svatma'gnau manasa srucha
sushumna vartmana nityamakshavrittirjuhomyaham
svahantam mantramuchcharya japamulam smaranparam
kuryannidhuvanam mantri mantrasiddhimavapnuyat
ratante samjapenmulam pathenmantramidam punah
taradvayantaragatam peramanandakaranam
Om prakasakasahastabhyamavalambyonmani srucha
dhammadharmakalasnehapurnam vahnau juhomyaham
svahante vayumantrena sukramadaya Parvati
Srichakre tarpayeddevi tatah siddhimavapnuyat
sampujya kantam samtarpya stutva natva parasparam
samharasandhaya mantri Saktiviranvisarjayet.*

177 The zeal that is prescribed might suit some more civilized associations:

*pitva pitva punah pitva yavalluthati bhutale
utthaya cha punah pitva punarjanma na vidyate.*

Let him pledge the wine cup again and again,
Till he measures his length on the ground,

religious observance. In justice to the doctrines of the sect, it is to be observed that these practices, if instituted merely for sensual gratification, are held to be as illicit and reprehensible as in any other branch of the Hindu faith¹⁷⁸.

The followers are considered as very numerous, especially amongst the Brahmanical tribe : all classes are however admissible, and are equal and alike at the ceremonies of the sect. In the world¹⁷⁹ they resume their characteristic distinctions, and wear the sectarial marks, and usually adopt the outward worship of any other division, whether orthodox or heretical. When they assume particular insignia, they are a semi-circular line or lines on the forehead, of red saunders or vermillion, or a red streak up the middle of the forehead, with a circular spot of red at the root of the nose. They use a rosary of Rudraksha seeds, or a coral beads, but of no greater length than may be concealed in the hand, or they keep it in a small purse, or a bag of red cloth. In worshipping they wear a piece of red silk round the loins, and decorate themselves with garlands of crimson flowers.

KANCHULIYAS

This is a sect of which the existence may be questioned, notwithstanding the assertion that it is not uncommon in the South of India. The worship is that of Sakti, and the practices are similar to those of the Kaulas, or Vamacharis. It is said

Let him rise and once more the goblet drain,
And with freedom for eye, from a life of pain,
Shall the glorious feat be crowned.

178 The *Kularnava* has the following and many similar passages; they occur constantly in other Tantras: "Many false pretenders to knowledge, and who have not been duly initiated, pretend to practise the Kaula rites; but if perfection be obtained by drinking wine, independently of my commands, then every drunkard is a saint: if virtue consist in eating flesh, then every carnivorous animal in the world is virtuous: if eternal happiness be derived from sexual intercourse, then all beings will be entitled to it: a follower of the Kula doctrine is blameless in my sight, if he reproofs those of other creeds who quit their established observances—those of other sects who use the articles of the Kaula worship, shall be condemned to repeated generations as numerous as the hairs of the body."—In fact, the texts of Manu are taken as authorities for the penance to be performed for the crimes of touching, smelling, looking at, or tasting the forbidden articles, except upon religious occasions, and when they are consecrated by the appropriate texts.

It is only to be added, that if the promulgators of these doctrines were sincere, which is far from impossible, they must have been filled with a strange frenzy, and have been strangely ignorant of human nature.

179 "Whilst the Bhairavi Tantra is proceeding, all castes are Brahmins—when it is concluded, they are again distinct." *Syama*

to be distinguished by one peculiar rite, the object of which is to confound all the ties of female alliance, and to enforce not only a community of women amongst the votaries, but disregard even to natural restraints. On occasions of worship the female votaries are said to deposit their upper vests¹⁸⁰ in a box in charge of the Guru. At the close of the usual rites the male worshippers take each a vest from the box, and the female to whom the garment appertains, be she ever so nearly of kin to him, is the partner for the time of his licentious pleasures¹⁸¹.

KARARIS

The Karari is the worshipper of Devi, in her terrific forms, and is the representative of the Aghora Ghanta and Kapalika¹⁸², who as lately only as seven or eight centuries ago, there is reason to suppose, sacrificed human victims to Kali, Chamunda, Chhinnamasta, and other hideous personifications of the Sakti of Siva. The attempt to offer human beings in the present day, is not only contrary to every known ritual, but it would be attended with too much peril too be practised, and consequently it cannot be believed that this sect is in existence : the only votaries, if any there be, consisting of the miscreants who, more for pay than devotion inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, and pierce their flesh with hooks or spits, run sharp pointed instruments through their tongues and cheeks, recline upon beds of spikes, or gash themselves with knives, all which practices are occasionally met with throughout India, and have become familiar to Europeans from the excess to which they are carried in Bengal at the Charak Puja, a festival which,

Ruhasya. According to Ward, such of them as avow their creed, leading at the same time a mendicant life, are termed Vyaktavadhutas, or they who are openly free from restraints: those who conceal their creed and observe its practices in privacy are termed Guptavadhutas, the liberated in secret. II, 296.

180 [Called Kanchuli in Tamil; hence the name of the sect.]

181 This sect appears in the *Sankara Vijaya*, as the Uchchhishta Ganapati, or Hairamba sect, who declare that all men and all women are of one caste, and that their intercourse is free from fault.

purushanam sarvajatikanamekajativadityeko dharmah stri-nam sarvajatikanamekajativadityeko dharmah. tasanacha teshancha samyoge viyoge cha doshabhavah.

The same sort of story is told, but apparently with great injustice, of the Muhammadan Vyavaharis or Bohras, and of a less known Muhammadan sect, the Chiraghkesh: something of the same kind was imputed to the early Christians by their adversaries.

182 The following description of the Kapalika is from the *Sankara Vijaya* of *Anandagiri*: "His body is smeared with ashes from a funeral pile, around his neck hangs a string of human skulls, his forehead is streaked with a black line, his hair is woven

as a public religious observance, is unknown anywhere else, and which is not directed nor countenanced by any of the authorities of the Hindus, not even by the Tantras.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS

The sects that have been described are those of the regular system, and particularly of what may be called Brahmanical Hinduism, emanating, more or less directly, from the doctrines of the original creed. Besides these there are a number which it is not so easy to class, although they are mostly referable to a common source, and partake, in many respects, of the same notions, especially of those of a Vaishnava and Vedanta tendency. They exist in various degrees of popularity, and date from various periods, and in most instances owe their institution to enthusiastic or contemplative individuals, whose biography is yet preserved consistently enough by tradition.

This is not the case, however, with the first two on the list—the Saurapatas and Ganapatas : these are usually, indeed, ranked with the preceding divisions, and make with the Vaishnavas, Saivas, and Saktas the five orthodox divisions of the Hindus : they are of limited extent and total insignificance.

SAURAPATAS OR SAURAS

The Saurapatas are those who worship Suryapati, the Sun-god, only ; there are a few of them, but very few, and they scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances. The Tilaka, or frontal mark, is made in a particular manner, with red sandal, and the necklace should be of crystal : these are their chief peculiarities : besides which they eat one meal without salt on every Sunday, and each Sankranti, or the sun's entrance into a sign of the Zodiac : they cannot eat either until they have beheld the sun, so that it is fortunate that they inhabit his native regions.

GANAPATAS

These are worshippers of Ganesa, or Ganapati, and can scarcely be considered as a distinct sect : all the Hindus, in fact, worship this deity as the obviator of difficulties and impediments, and never commence any work, or set off on a journey, without invoking his protection. Some, however, pay him more particular devotion than the rest, and these are the only persons to whom the classification may be consi-

into the matted braid, his loins are clothed with a tiger's skin, a hollow skull is in his left hand (for a cup), and in his right he carries a bell, which he rings incessantly, exclaiming aloud, Ho, Sambhu, Bhairava—ho lord of Kali." [See also *Prabodhachandr.*, ed. Brockhaus, Act III, p. 53, v. 10.]

dered applicable. Ganesa however, it is believed, is never exclusively venerated, and the worship, when it is paid, is addressed to some of his forms, particularly those of Vakratunda and Dhundhiraj.

NANAK SHAHIS

A sect of much greater importance is that which originated with Nanak Shah, and which, from bearing at first only a religious character, came, in time, to be a political and national distinction, through the influence of Muhammadan persecution and individual ambition. The enterprising policy of Govind Sinh and the bigotry of Aurangzeb converted the peaceful tenets of Nanak into a military code, and his speculative disciples into the warlike nation of the Sikhs. It is not, however, in their political capacity that we are now to consider them, but as the professors of a peculiar form of faith, which branches into various sub-divisions, and is by no means restricted to the Punjab. At the same time it is unnecessary to detail the tenets and practices of the Sikhs, as that has been already performed in a full and satisfactory manner.

The Sikhs, or Nanak Shahis, are classed under seven distinctions, all recognising Nanak as their primitive instructor, and all professing to follow his doctrines, but separated from each other by variations of practice, or by a distinct and peculiar teacher. Of these the first is the sect of the Udisis.

UDASIS

These may be regarded as the genuine disciples of Nanak, professing, as the name denotes, indifference to worldly vicissitudes. They are purely religious characters devoting themselves to prayer and meditation, and usually collected in Sangats, colleges or convents ; they also travel about to places of pilgrimage, generally in parties of some strength. Individuals of them are to be met with in most of the chief cities of Hindustan, living under the patronage of some man of rank or property ; but in all situations they profess poverty, although they never solicit alms ; and although ascetics, they place no merit in wearing mean garments or dispensing altogether with clothes. On the contrary, they are, in general, well dressed, and, allowing the whiskers and beard to grow, are not infrequently of a venerable and imposing appearance. Though usually practising celibacy, it does not appear to be a necessary condition amongst the Sikhs to be found in the Gangetic provinces : they are usually the ministrant priests ; but their office consists chiefly in reading and expounding the writings of Nanak and Govind Sinh, as collected in the *Adi Granth* and *Das Padshah ka granth*. The perusal is enlivened by the chanting, occasionally, of Hindi *Padas* and *Rekhtas*, the compositions of

Kabir, Mira Bai, Sur Das, and others. With that fondness for sensible objects of reverence which characterises the natives of India, the Book is also worshipped, and rupees, flowers, and fruits are presented by the votaries, which become, of course, the property of the officiating Udasi. In return, the Udasi not uncommonly adopts the presentation of the Prasada, and at the close of the ceremony sweetmeats are distributed amongst the congregation. In some of the establishments at Banaras the service is held in the evening after sunset, and the singing and feasting continue through a great part of the night. Many of the Udisas are well read in Sanskrit, and are expounders of the Vedanta philosophy, on which the tenets of Nanak are mainly founded.

The Udasi sect was established by Dharmachand, the grandson of Nanak, through whom the line of the Sage was continued, and his descendants, known by the name of Nanak Putras, are still found in the Panjab, where they are treated by the sikhs with especial veneration.

The doctrine taught by Nanak appears to have differed but little from that of Kabir, and to have deviated but inconsiderably from the Hindu faith in general. The whole body of poetical and mythological fiction was retained, whilst the liberation of the spirit from the delusive deceits of Maya, and its purification by acts of benevolence and self-denial, so as to make it identical even in life with its divine source, were the great objects of the devotee. Associated with these notions was great chariness of animal life, whilst with Nanak, as well as with Kabir, universal tolerance was a dogma of vital importance, and both laboured to persuade Hindus and Muhammadans that the only essential parts of their respective creeds were common to both, and that they should discard the varieties of practical detail, or the corruptions of their teachers for the worship of one only Supreme, whether he was termed Allah or Hari. How far these doctrines are still professed by the Nanak Shahis, may be inferred from the translations in the eleventh volume of the *Researches*, to which the following may be added as part of the service solemnized at the Sikh Sangat, at Banaras.

HYMN

Thou art the Lord—to thee be praise.
All life is with thee.
Thou art my parents, I am thy child—
All nappiness is derived from thy clemency.
No one knows thy end.
Highest Lord amongst the highest—
Of all that exists Thou art the regulator.
And all that is from thee obeys thy will.

Thy movements—thy pleasure—thou only knowest.
Nanak, thy slave, is a free-will offering unto thee.

The Priest then says—

Meditate on the *Saheb* of the Book, and exclaim *Wah Guru*.

The People accordingly repeat—

Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh.

The Priest—

Meditating on Ramachandra, exclaim *Wah Guru*.

The People—

Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh.

HYMN

Love, and fix thy whole heart upon Him—
The world is bound to thee by prosperity—
No one is another's.
Whilst prosperity endures many will come ;
And sit with thee and surround thee ;
But in adversity they will fly,
And not one will be near thee.
The woman of the house who loves thee,
And is ever in thy bosom,
When the spirit quits the body,
Will fly with alarm from the dead.
Such is the way of the world
With all on which we place affection ;
Do thou, Nanak, at thy last hour,
Rely alone upon Hari.

Priest as before—

Meditating on the *Saheb* of the Book, &c.

People as before—

Wah Guru, &c.

HYMN

My holy teacher is he who teaches clemency—
The heart is awake within : who seeks may find.
Wonderful is that rosary, every bead of which is the breath.
Lying apart in its arbour, it knows what cometh to pass.
The Sage is he who is merciful ; the merciless is a butcher.
Thou wieldest the knife and regardlessly exclaimest :
What is a goat, what is a cow, what are animals ?
But the *Saheb* declares that the blood of all is the same.
Saints, Prophets, and Seers have all passed in death.
Nanak, destroy not life for the preservation of the body.
That desire of life which is in the heart do thou, brother, repress.
Nanak, calling aloud, says : take refuge with Hari.

Priest as before—
 Meditating on the *Saheb*, &c.
 People as before—
*Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh*¹⁸³.

GANJ BAKHSHIS

Of this division of the Sikhs no particulars, except the name, have been ascertained. This is said to have been derived from that of the founder. They are not numerous nor of any note.

RAMRAYIS

These derive their appellation from that of Rama Raya, the son or grandson of Hari Raya, and their distinction from the other Sikhs is more of a political than religious complexion. Rama Raya disputed the succession to the Pontificate with Hari Krishna, the son of Hari Raya, and was unsuccessful. His followers, however, maintain the superiority of his pretensions, and record many miracles wrought by him in proof of his sanctity. He flourished about A. D. 1660. The Ramrayis are not common in Hindhustan.

SUTHRA SHAHIS

These are more often met with than either of the two preceding, and the priests are recognisable by distinguishing marks. They make a prependicular black streak down the forehead, and carry two small black sticks about half a yard in length, which they clash together when they solicit alms. They lead a vagabond life, begging and singing songs in the Panjabi and other dialects, mostly of a moral or mystic tendency. They are held in great disrepute, however, and are not infrequently gamblers, drunkards, and thieves. They look up to Tegh Bahadur, the father of Guru Govind, as their founder.

GOVIND SINHIS

These form the most important division of the Sikh community, being in fact the political association to which the name is applied, or to the Sikh nation generally¹⁸⁴. Although professing

183 [For further specimens see *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal* XIX, 521-33, and XX, 314-20. 487-502: Translation of the *Vichitra Natak*, by Capt. G. Siddons.]

184 Described by Sir John Malcolm, in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. The Sikh priest to whom he alludes (page 198) as one of his authorities, was afterwards well known to me, and was an individual every way worthy of confidence. His name was Atma Ram, and although advanced in years, he was full of energy and intelligence, combining with them extreme simplicity and kindness of disposition. The old man was a most favourable and interesting specimen of the Panjabi nation and disciples of Nanak. He died a few years ago in Calcutta.

to derive their national faith from Nanak, and holding his memory in veneration, the faith they follow is widely different from the quietism of that reformer, and is wholly of a worldly and warlike spirit. Guru Govind devoted his followers to steel, and hence the worship of the sword, as well as its employment against both Muhammadans and Hindus. He also ordered his adherents to allow their hair and beards to grow, and to wear blue garments : he permitted them to eat all kinds of flesh, except that of kine, and he threw open his faith and cause to all castes, to whomsoever chose to abandon the institutes of Hinduism, or belief in the mission of Muhammad, for a fraternity of arms and life of predatory daring. It was then only that the Sikhs became a people, and were separated from their Indian countrymen in political constitution, as well as religious tenets. At the same time the Sikhs are still, to a certain extent, Hindus : they worship the deities of the Hindus, and celebrate all their festivals : they derive their legends and literature from the same sources, and pay great veneration to the Brahmans. The impress of their origin is still, therefore, strongly retained, notwithstanding their rejection of caste, and their substituting *Das Padshah ka granth*¹⁸⁵, the compilation of Guru Govind, for the Vedas and Puranas.

NIRMALAS

These differ but little from the Udasis, and are perhaps still closer adherents to the doctrines of the founder, as the name imports : they profess to be free from all worldly soil or stain and, consequently, lead a wholly religious life. They observe celibacy, and disregard their personal appearance, often going nearly naked. They are not, like the Udasis, assembled in colleges, nor do they hold any particular form of divine service, but confine their devotion to speculative meditation on the perusal of the writings of Nanak, Kabir, and other unitarian teachers. They are always solitary, supported by their disciples

185 From the succession of Chiefs; Govind was tenth teacher in succession from Nanak, and flourished at the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century.

The other standard authority of the Sikhs, the *Adi Granth*, is a compilation chiefly of the works of Nanak, and his immediate successors, made by Arjunmal, a Sikh teacher, in the end of the 16th century. As it is usually met with, however, it comprehends the writings of many other individuals, many of whom are Vaishnavas. At a Sikh Sangat, or Chapel, in Banaras, the Book, a large folio, there denominated the *Sambhu Granth*, was said to contain the contributions of the following writers:

Nanak, Nam Deo, Kabir, Sheikh Feridaddin, Dhanna, Ramnand, Pipa, Sena, Jayadeva, Phandak, Sudama, Prahlad, Dhuru, Raidas, Vibhishana, Mira Bai, Karma Bai.

[Compare also G. de Tassy, *hist. de la litterat. Hindoui et Hindoust.*, I, 385 ff. *Journal R. As. Soc.*, IX, 43 ff. *Dabistan*, II, 246-98, *Journal As. S. Bengal*, XIV, 393.]

or opulent individuals, and are often known as able expounders of the Vedanta philosophy, in which Brahmans do not disdain to become their scholars. They are not very numerous ; but a few are almost always to be found at the principal seats of Hindu wealth and learning, and particularly at Banaras¹⁸⁶.

NAGAS

The naked mendicants of the Sikhs are said to differ from those of the Vaishnava and Saiva sects by abstaining from the use of arms, and following a retired and religious life. Except in going without clothes, they are not distinguishable from the Nirmalas.

JAINS

A satisfactory account of the religion of the Jains would require a distinct dissertation, and cannot be comprised within the limits necessarily assigned to this general sketch of the Hindu sects. The subject is of considerable interest, as affecting a very large proportion of the population of India, and involving many important considerations connected with the history of the Hindu faith : an extended inquiry must, however, be left to some further opportunity ; and in the meantime our attention will be confined to a few observations on the peculiar tenets and practices of the Jain religion, its past history, and actual condition.

Previously, however, to entering upon these subjects, it may be advisable to advert briefly to what has been already done towards their elucidation, and to the materials which exist in the original languages for a complete view. The latter are of the most extensive description, whilst the labours of European writers are by no means wanting to an accurate estimate of the leading doctrines of the Jain faith, or to an appreciation of the state in which it exists in various parts of Hindusthan.

The first authentic notices of the Jains occur in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, from the pens of the late Colin Mackenzie, Buchanan, and Colebrooke. The two first described the Jains from personal acquaintance, and from their accounts

¹⁸⁶ An interesting account of the religious service of the Sikhs, in their college at Patna, was published by Wilkins, in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. I witnessed a similar ceremony at a Sikh establishment at Banaras, and partook of the Prasada, or sweetmeats, distributed to the assistants. Both Wilkins and Sir John Malcolm notice this eating in common, as if it were peculiar to the Sikh faith; but this, as elsewhere observed, is not the case. It prevails with most of the Vaishnava sects; but it should be remembered that it is always restricted to articles which have been previously consecrated by presentation to the object of worship, to the Idol, the sarcophagus, the sculptured foot-marks, or the book.

it appeared, that they existed, in considerable numbers and respectability, in Southern India, particularly in Mysore, and on the Kanara Coast ; that they laid claim to high antiquity, and enumerated a long series of religious teachers, and that they differed in many of their tenets and practices from the orthodox Hindus, by whom they were regarded with aversion and contempt. A further illustration of their doctrines, and a particular account of their deified teachers was derived by Colebrooke from some of their standard authorities, then first made known to Europeans.

Little more was published on the subject of the Jains until very lately, with the exception of numerous but brief and scattered notices of the sect in the Peninsula, in Buchanan's *Travels in Mysore*. Some account of them also occurs in Wilks' *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, and in the work of the Abbe Dubois. Ward has an article dedicated to the Jains, in his account of the Hindus ; and Erskine has briefly adverted to some of their peculiarities in his *Observations on the Cave of Elephanta, and the Buddhist remains in India*, in the *Proceedings of the Bombay Literary Society*. It is, however, to the *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society* that we are indebted for the latest and most detailed accounts, and the papers of Colebrooke, Delamaine, Hamilton, Franklin and James Tod¹⁸⁷, furnish many interesting particulars relative to the doctrines and past or present condition of the Jains. Some valuable illustration of the latter subject is to be found in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*¹⁸⁸ ; some historical notices obtained from the inscriptions at Abu occur in the last volume of our Researches, whilst a novel and rather comprehensive view of Jain literature is contained in the catalogue of manuscripts collected by Colin Mackenzie¹⁸⁹.

From this latter authority we learn that the literature peculiar to Jains comprises a number of works peculiar to the sect, the composition of their own writers, and on a variety of subjects¹⁹⁰. They have a series of works called Puranas, as the

187 *On the Philosophy of the Hindus*, Part V, by Colebrooke, Vol. I [*Essays*, London, 1858, 243 ff. 280 ff.] *On the Sravaks, or Jains*, by Delamaine, Vol. I, 418. *On Inscriptions in Jain Temples, in Behar*, by Colebrooke, Hamilton, and Colonel Franklin, Vol. I, 520. *On the Sravaks, or Jains*, by Hamilton, Vol. I, 531. *On the Religious Establishments in Mewar*, by James Tod, Vol. II, 270.

188 Particularly in the *Journal of a Native Traveller*, from Calcutta and back again through Behar. The traveller was a learned Jain, in the service of Colin Mackenzie. There is also an interesting account of a visit to the temple of Parsvanath, at Samet Sikhar.

189 Vol. I, page 144, &c.

190 The List comprises 44 Works:

Puranas: 7. Charitras and Legends: 10. Ritual, Prayers, &c.:

*Adi and Uttara Puranas, Chamunda Raya Purana, and Chaturvinsati Puarna*¹⁹¹, but these are not to be confounded with the Puranas of the Hindus ; as, although they occasionally insert legends borrowed from the latter, their especial object is the legendary history of the Tirthankaras, or deified teachers, peculiar to the sect. The chief Puranas are attributed to Jina Sena Acharya, whom some accounts make contemporary with Vikramaditya ; but the greater number, and most consistent of the traditions of the South, describe him as the spiritual preceptor of Amoghavarsha, king of Kanchi, at the end of the ninth century of the Christian era. Analogous to the Jain Puranas are works denominated Charitras, their subject being, in general, the marvellous history of some Tirthankara, or some holy personage, after whom they are denominated, as the *Jinadatta Raya Charitra, Pujiyapada Charitra*, and others. They have a number of works explanatory of their philosophical notions and religious tenets of the sect, as well as rituals of practice, and a grammatical system founded on the rules of Sakatayana is illustrated by glosses and commentaries. The Jains have also their own writers on astronomy and astrology, on medicine, on the mathematical sciences, and the form and disposition of the universe.

This general view of Jain literature is afforded by the Mackenzie Collection, but the list there given is very far from including the whole of Jain literature, or even a considerable proportion. The works there alluded to are, in fact, confined to Southern India, and are written in Sanskrit, or the dialects of the Peninsula ; but every province of Hindusthan can produce Jain compositions, either in Sanskrit or its vernacular idiom, whilst many of the books, and especially those which may be regarded as their scriptural authorities, are written in the Prakrit or Magadhi, a dialect which, with the Jains as well as the Buddhists, is considered to be the appropriate vehicle of their sacred literature.

The course of time, and the multiplication of writings, have probably rendered it almost impossible to reduce what may

18. Medicine: 1. Grammar: 2. Arithmetic: 2. Miscellaneous: 4.

¹⁹¹ Hamilton says, the Digambaras have twenty-four Puranas, twenty-three giving an account of each Tirthankara, and the twenty-fourth, of the whole; but this seems to be erroneous. The actions of the twenty-four Tirthankaras are described in a single Purana, but the section devoted to each is called after him severally as the Purana of each, as *Rishabha Deva Purana*, one section of the *Chamunda Raya Purana*. In the *Adi and Uttara Puranas*, forming in fact but one work, the *Adi*, or first part, is appropriated to the first Tirthankara, whilst the *Uttara*, or last portion, contains the accounts of all the other deified Sages. There are several collections, comprehending what may be termed twenty-four Puranas; but it does not appear that there are twenty-four distinct works so denominated.

be considered as the sacred literature of the Jains to a regular system. They are said to have a number of works entitled Siddhantas and Agamas¹⁹², which are to them what the Vedas are to the Brahmanical Hindus ; and this appears to be the case, although the enumeration which is sometimes made of them is of a loose and popular character, and scarcely reconcilable with that to be derived from written authority¹⁹³.

192 Hamilton enumerates eight works as the Agamas of the Digambara sect, the *Trailokya Sara*, the *Gomatisara*, *Panjiraj*, *Trailokya Dipika*, *Kshepanasara*, *Tribhangisara*, and *Shaipavar*, attributed to the pupils of Mahavira. He states also, that the Svetambaras have forty-five or, as some allege, eighty-four Siddhantas, amongst which he specifies the *Thanangi Sutra*, *Jnananti Sutra*, *Sugorangi Sutra*, *Upasakadasa*, *Mahapandanna*, *Nandi Sutra*, *Rayapseni*, *Jinabhigama*, *Jambudwipapannatti*, *Surapannatti*, *Chandrasagarapannatti*, *Kalpa Sutra*, *Katantravibhrama Sutra*, *Sakti Sutra*, and *Sangrahani Sutra*. Some of these are incorrectly named, and others inaccurately classed, as will be seen from what follows in the text.

193 The following Works are either in my possession or in the library of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. Compositions descriptive of the tenets or practices of the Jain religion: *Bhagavatyangam*. This is one of the eleven primary works, and is entitled also in *Prakrit Vivaha Pannatti*, in *Sanskrit Vivaha*, or *Vivadha Prajnapti*, Instruction in the various sources of worldly pain, or in the paths of virtue. It consists of lessons given to Gautama by Mahavira, and is in *Prakrit*. It contains 36,000 stanzas. *Bhagavatyanga Vritti*, a Sanskrit Commentary on the preceding (defective.) *Thananga Sutra*,—also one of the eleven Angas. *Kalpa Sutra*, the precepts of the Jain faith—these are originally 1250; but they are interspersed with legends of the Tirthankaras, and especially of Mahavira, at the pleasure of the writer, and the several copies of the work therefore differ. *Prakrit*.

Kalpa Sutra Balabodha, a sort of abridgment of the preceding. *Prakrit*. *Kalpa Sutra Siddhanta*, the essence of the *Kalpa Sutra*. *Prakrit*. *Dasavaikalika Sutra*. *Prakrit*. Ditto. *Tika*. *Rayaprasna Sutra Siddhanta*. *Tika*. *Gautamaprashtha*. *Prakrit*. *Sangrahini Sutra*. *Prakrit*. *Laghu Sangrahini Sutra*. *Prakrit*. *Nava Tattwa Sutra*. *Prakrit*. *Nava Tattwa Prakarana*. *Prakrit*. *Nava Tattwa Balabodha*. *Prakrit*. *Karma Grantha*. *Jiva Vichara*. *Sanskrit*. *Jiva Vinaya*. *Smarana Sutra*. *Prakrit*. *Vridhdhatichara*. *Prakrit*. *Sinduraprakara Tika*. *Sanskrit*. *Ekaṁsati Sthana*. *Bhasha*. *Dasakshapanavratavidhi*. *Bhasha*. *Upadesa Mala*. *Prakrit*. *Pratikramana Vidhi*. *Prakrit*. *Pratikramana Sutra*. *Bhasha*. *Chaturdasa Gunasthana*. *Bhasha*. *Chaturdasa Gunanamani*. *Pakshi Sutra*. *Bhasha*. *Shattrinsot Karmakatha*. *Bhasha*. *Dharmabuddhi Chatushpadi*. *Bhasha*. *Balavibodha*. *Bhasha*. *Upadhanavidhi*. *Prakrit*. *Ashtahnikamahotsava*. *Prakrit*. *Ashtahnikavyakhyana*. *Mahamuni Svadhyaya*. *Pragnasukta Muktaṁvali*. *Aradhana Prakarana*. *Parsvanatha Gita*. *Uttaradhyayana Gita*. *Sadhvasamachari*. *Sravakaradhana*. *Jnanapuja*. *Dikshamahotsava*. *Barah Vrata*. *Saptavinsati Sadhu Lakshana*. *Ratribhojana Nishedha*. *Sadhwapasana Vidhi*. *Dwishashti Vakya*. *Kshetrasamasa Sutra*. *Samyaktwadhyayana*. *Prasnottara Ratnamala*. *Navakaranta Balabodha*. *Asahyana Vidhi*. *Santaraka Vidhi*. *Atmanusasana*. *Bhasha*. *Panchastikaya*, according to the Digam-

The author of the *Abhidhana Chintamani*, a useful vocabulary, Hemachandra, is well known as a zealous and able propagator of the Jain doctrines in the twelfth century. He was no doubt well versed in the peculiarity of the system which he taught, and may be regarded as a safe guide. In his vocabulary¹⁹⁴ he specifies what appear to be the Jaina scriptures, at least in the estimation of the Svetambara sect, to which he belonged, and in a valuable Commentary on his own work he has further particularised the works named in his text. From this it appears that the principal authorities of a sacred character where termed Angas, and were eleven in number or, with a supplementary division, twelve. They are thus enumerated and described : *Acharangam*, a book teaching sacred observances after the practice of *Vasishtha* and other saints. *Sutrakritangam*, a work on acts imposed by positive precepts. *Sthanangam*, on the organs in which life abides, or the ten acts essential to purity. *Samavayangam*, on the hundred *Padarthas* or categories. *Bhagavatyangam*, on the ritual, or rules for worship. *Jnatadharmakatha*, an

bara faith. *Jinapratima Sthapana Vidhi*. *Jalakshalana Vidhi*. *Sadopakara Muktavali*. *Moksha Marga*. *Nitisangraha*. *Vicharamanjari*. *Parsvanatha DasabHAVAVISHA*. *Satavisabhava*. *Anandasravaka Sandhi*. *Rohinitapas*. *Siddhachala Puja*. *Pujapaddhati*. *Bhasha*. *Silopadesa Mala*. *Snana Vidhi*. *Navapattatapo Vidhi*. *Amritashtamitapas*. *Devapuja*. *Varnabhavanasandhi*. *Bhasha*. *Panegries of the Jain teachers, &c.*, which are not infrequently repeated in the temples: *Santi Jina Stava*. *Bhasha*. *Vrihat Santi Stava*. *Sanskrit*. *Mahavira Stava*. *Bhasha*. *Laghu Santi Stava*. *Rishabha Stava*. *Parsvanatha Stava*. *Parsvanatha Stuti*. *Prakrit*. *Neminatha Stava*. *Asanta Stava*. *Prakrit*. *Ajitasanti Stava*. *Bhaktamaya Stotra*. *Kalyana Mandira Stotra*. *Sanskrit*. *Chaturvimsati dandakastava*. *Sadhuvandana*. *Satrunjaya Stava*. *Parsvanatha Namaskara*. *Champakastavana*. *Upasargahara Stotra*. *Guru Stava*. *Karma Stava*.

LEGENDARY TALES AND HISTORIES

Padma Purana. *Bhasha*. *Mahavira Charitra*, which is called by others portion of the *Trishashtisalakapurusha Charita*, or Legend of the sixty-three personages most eminent in Jain Tradition. *Sanskrit*. *Nemirajarshi Charitra*. *Salabhadra Charitra*, *Bhasha*. *Chitrasena Charitra*. *Bhasha*. *Gajasukumara Charitra*. *Bhasha*. *Chandraraja Charitra*. *Bhasha*. *Bhaktamara*. *Sripala Charitra*. *Bhasha*. *Kalikacharya Katha*. *Samyaktva Kaumudi*. *Vastradona Katha*. *Meghadutapada Samasya*. *Avantisakumara Charitra*. *Ratnachuropakhya*. *Mrigavati Charitra*. *Ratnachura Muni Chaupai*. *Bhasha*. *Mrigavati Chaupai*. *Bhasha*. *Sadhu Charitra*. *Satrunjaya Mahatmya*. *Gajasinha Charitra*. *Dasadrishntanta Katha*.

MISCELLANEOUS

Vridhayavana, *Astronomy*. *Sanskrit*. *Chaturdhasvapana-vichara*. *Trailokya Dipika*. *Setunjoddhar*. *Pathandrambhapithika*. *Hastarekharivarana*. *Prakrit*. *Namavali*. *Patavali*. Many of these are of small extent, but others are exceedingly voluminous, as the *Bhagavatyangam*, *Padma Purana*, *Satrunjaya Mahatmya*, and others.

account of the acquisition of knowledge by holy personages. *Upasakadasa*, rules for the conduct of Sravakas, or secular Jains, apparently in ten lectures. *Antakriddasa*, on the actions of the *Tirthankaras*, in ten lectures. *Anuttaropapatikadasa*, on the principal or final births of the *Tirthankaras*, in ten lectures. *Prasnavyakaranam*, Grammar of questions, probably on the Code of the Jains. *Vipakasrutam*, on the fruits or consequences of actions.

With these are connected inferior Angas or Upangas, the names of which are not specified—whilst the *Drishtivada*, the twelfth Anga, which seems to be a supplementary authority, is divided into five portions entitled : *Parikarma*, on moral acts; *Sutra*, precepts for conduct and life ; *Purvanuyoga*, on the doctrines and practice of the *Tirthankaras* before attaining perfection ; *Purvagata*, on the same after perfection ! *Chulika*, on doctrines and practice not comprised in the two preceding.

These different works profess to be derived from the oral instructions of Mahavira himself to his disciples, especially to Gautama ; but besides these a class of works is enumerated by Hemachandra, entitled Purvas, because they were drawn up by the Ganadharas before the Angas¹⁹⁵. There are fourteen of them treating of the chief tenets of the sect, apparently sometimes controversially, as the *Astipravada*, the doctrine of existence and non-existence ; *Jnanaprabada*, the doctrine of holy knowledge ; *Satyaprabada*, discussion of truth ; *Atmaprabada*, investigation of spirit ; *Pranavaya*, nature of corporeal life ; *Kriyavisala*, consequences of acts, and others¹⁹⁶. They are held to be the works of Mahavira's Ganas, or of that *Tirthankara* and his predecessors, or to have emanated from them originally, although committed to writing by other hands. Some of them still exist, it appears¹⁹⁷, although in general their places have been assumed by a list of more recent compositions.

From this brief statement it will be evident that there is no want of original authorities with regard to the belief, the practices, or the legends of the Jaina sect. There is indeed more than a sufficiency, and the vast extent of the materials is rather prejudicial to the enquiry, it being impossible to consult any extensive proportion of what has been written, and it being equally impossible without so doing to know that the best guides have been selected. For such accounts as are here given, the voca-

195 *sutritani ganadharairangebhyah purvameva yat
purvanityabhidhiyante tenaitani chaturdasa.*

Maha Vira Char. Section 5.

196 A similar enumeration of these Works occurs in the *Mahavira Charitra*.

197 Thus the *Thanangisutra* and *Upasakadasa*, of Hamilton, are no doubt the *Sthananga* and *Upasakadasa* of Hemachandra's text; the *Bhagavatyangas* is in the Sanskrit College Library.

bulary of Hemachandra, with his own commentary, the *Mahavira Charitra* of the same author, the *Kalpa Sutra*, the *Avasyakavrihad Vritta*, the *Bhagavatyanga Vritta*, *Nava Tattwabodha*, and *Jiva Vichara* have chiefly been consulted.

The leading tenets of the Jains, and those which chiefly distinguish them from the rest of the Hindus, are well known—they are, first, the denial of the divine origin and infallible authority of the Vedas ; secondly, the reverence of certain holy mortals who acquired, by practices of self-denial and mortification, a station superior to that of the gods ; and thirdly, extreme and even ludicrous tenderness of animal life.

The disregard of the authority of the Vedas is common to the Jains and the Buddhists, and involves a neglect of the rites which they prescribe : in fact, it is in a great degree from those rites that an inference unfavourable to the sanctity of the Vedas is drawn ; and not to speak of the sacrifices of animals which the Vedas occasionally enjoin, the Homa, or burnt offering, which forms a part of every ceremonial in those works, appear an abomination, as insects crawling amongst the fuel, bred by the fermented butter, or falling into the flame, cannot fail to be destroyed by every oblation. As far however as the doctrines they teach are conformable to Jain tenets, the Vedas are admitted and quoted as authority.

The veneration and worship of mortals is also common to the Jains and Buddhists, but the former have expanded and methodised the notions of the latter. The Buddhists, although they admit an endless number of earthly Buddhas to have existed, and specify more than a century of names¹⁹⁸, confine their reverence to a comparatively small number—to seven. The Jainas extend this number to twenty-four for a given period, and enumerate by name the twenty-four of their past age, or Avasarpini, the twenty-four of the present, and the twenty-four of the age to come. The statues of these, either all or in part, are assembled in their temples, sometimes of colossal dimensions, and usually of black or white marble. The objects held in highest esteem in Hindusthan are Parsvanath and Mahavira, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Jinas of the present era, who seem to have superseded all their predecessors.

The generic names of a Jaina saint express the ideas entertained of his character by his votaries. He is Jagatprabhu, lord of the world ; Kshinakarma, free from bodily or ceremonial acts ; Sarvajna, omniscient ; Adhisvara, supreme lord : Devadhiveva, god of gods ; and similar epithets of obvious purport ; whilst others are of a more specific character, as Tirthakara, or Tirthankara, Kevali, Arhat, and Jina. The first im-

plies one who has crossed over (Tiryate anena), that is the world; compared to the ocean ; Kevali is the possessor of Kevala, or spiritual nature, free from its investing sources of error ; Arhat is one entitled to the homage of gods and men, and Jina is the victor over all human passions and infirmities¹⁹⁹.

Besides these epithets, founded on attributes of a generic character, there are other characteristics common to all the Jinas of a more specific nature. These are termed Atisayas, or super-human attributes, and are altogether thirty-six ; four of them, or rather four classes, regard the person of a Jina, such as the beauty of his form, the fragrance of his body, the white colour of his blood, the curling of his hair, its non-increase and that of the beard and nails, his exemption from all natural impurities, from hunger and thirst, from infirmity and decay : these properties are considered to be born with him. He can collect around him millions of beings, gods, men, and animals, in a comparatively small space, his voice is audible to a great distance, and his language, which is Arddha Magadhi, is intelligible to animals, men and gods, the back of his head is surrounded with a halo of light brighter than the disk of the sun, and for an immense interval around him, wherever he moves, there is neither sickness nor enmity, storm nor dearth, neither plague portents, nor war. Eleven Atisayas of this kind are ascribed to him. The remaining nineteen are of celestial origin, as the raining of flowers and perfumes, the sound of heavenly drums, and the menial offices rendered by Indra and the gods²⁰⁰.

Notwithstanding the sameness of the general character and identity of generic attributes, the twenty-four Jinas are distinguished from each other in colour, stature, and longevity. Two of them are red, two white, two blue, two black, the rest are of a golden hue, or a yellowish brown. The other two peculiarities are regulated with very systematic precision, and observe a series of decrement from Rishabha, the first Jina, who was five hundred poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 great years, to Mahavira, the 24th, who had degenerated to the size of man, and was not more than forty years on earth. These peculiarities have been detailed by Colebrooke, in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and he draws a probable inference from the return to reason in the stature and years of the two last Jinas, that they alone are to be considered as historical person-

199 tiryate samsarasamudro neneti tirtham tatkarotiti tirtham karah. sarvathavarana vilaye chetanasvarupavirbhavah kevalam tadasyasti kavali. Surendradikritam pujamarhatityarhan. jayati ragadveshamohaniti jinah.

These Etymologies are from Hemachandra's Commentary [to sl. 24. 25., p. 292, ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu].

200 [*Hemachandra* I. I. 62-88.]

ages. The rest are the creatures of fiction. The notion of decreasing longevity, like that of the existence of human beings, superior to the gods, is common the Buddhists²⁰¹.

There is also great similarity in the general tenor of the legends related of each of the Jinas. They are all born a number of times, and in a variety of characters, before they arrive at the state of a Tirthankara : after which, as their attainment of divine knowledge is the work of self-denial and ascetic meditation, we need not expect much varied incident in their adventures. A sketch of the life of Mahavira, from the *Mahavira Charitra*, will convey some notion of their ordinary history, whilst further illustration may be derived from an abstract of the Parsvanatha Charitra, or life of Parsvanath, in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions*²⁰².

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA

The twenty-fourth Tirthankara Mahavira's first birth, which occurred at a period indefinitely remote, was as Nayasara, head man of a village, in the country of Vijaya, subject to Satrumardana. His piety and humanity elevated him next to the heaven called Saudharma, where he enjoyed happiness for some oceans of years. He was next born as Marichi, the grandson of the first Tirthankara Rishabha, then transferred to the Brahmaloka, whence he returned to earth as a worldly-minded and sensual Brahman, the consequence of which was his repeated births in the same caste, each birth being separated by an interval passed in one of the Jain heavens, and each period of life extending to many lakhs of years. He then became Visvabhuta, prince of Rajagriha, and next a Vasudeva, named Triprishtha, from having three back bones : his uncle and foe in a former life, Visabhanandi, was born as his Protagonist, or Prativasudeva, named Asvagriva or Hayagriva, and was, in the course of events, destroyed by the Vasudeva, a palpable adaptation of the Pauranic legend of Vishnu and Hayagriva. Triprishtha having put his Chamberlain cruelly to death was condemned to hell, and again born as a lion : he migrated through various forms, until he became the Chakravartti Priyamitra,

201 A comparison of the Jain and Buddhist series suggests strong confirmation of the opinion that the Jain legends are only Buddhist notions exaggerated. The ages of the seven Buddhas run thus:

Vipasti: 80,000 Years. Sikhi: 70,000 ditto. Visvabhu: 60,000 ditto. Krakuchchanda: 40,000 ditto. Kanaka: 30,000 ditto. Kasyapa: 20,000 ditto. Sakya: 100 ditto.

Asiatic Researches. Vol. XVI, p. 453. The last Jina but one, or Parsvanath, lived, like Sakya, 100 years. [See also A. Weber, *Ueber das Satranjaya Mahatmyam*. Leipzig: 1858, p. 3, and C. F. Koeppen, *die Religion des Buddha*, I, p. 314 ff.]

202 [I, 428.]

in the division of the world Mahavideha. After a victorious reign of eighty-four lakhs of years he became an ascetic for a further period of a hundred lakhs, and was then translated to one of the higher heavens. Thence he returned to earth in the Bharata division as Nandana, the son of Jitasatru, who adopted a life of devotion and diligently adored the Jinas. After an existence of twenty-five lakhs of years he was raised to the dignity of king of the gods in the Pushpottara heaven, in which capacity he preserved his ancient faith, offering flowers to, and ~~bathing~~ daily the one hundred and eight images of the Arhats. Such exalted piety was now to meet with its reward, and the pains of existence were to be terminated in the person of the Tirthankara Mahavira, or Varddhamana.

On the return of the spirit of Nandana to earth it first animated the womb of the wife of a Brahman, but Mahendra disapproving of the receptacle as of low caste transferred it to the womb of Trisala, wife of Siddhartha, of the family of Ikshvaku, and prince of Pavana, in Bharatakshetra. Mahavira was born on the thirteenth of the light fortnight of Chaitra : the fifty-six nymphs of the universe assisted at his birth, and his consecration was performed by Sakra, and the other sixty-three Indras. The name given by his father was Varddhamana as causing increase of riches and prosperity, but Sakra gave him also the appellation of Mahavira as significant of his power and supremacy over men and gods.

When arrived at maturity, Mahavira was prevailed upon by his parents to marry Yasoda, daughter of the prince Samaravira. By her he had a daughter, Priyadarsana, who was married to Jamali, a prince, one of the Saint's pupils, and founder of a schism. Siddhartha and his wife died when their son was twenty-eight years old, on which Mahavira adopted an ascetic life, the government devolving on his elder brother Nandivarddhamana. After two years of abstinence and self-denial at home he commenced an erratic life, and the attainment of the degree of a Jina.

During the first six years of his peregrination, Mahavira observed frequent fasts of several months' duration, during each of which he kept his eyes fixed upon the tip of his nose, and maintained perpetual silence. He was invisibly attended by a Yaksha, named Siddhartha, who, at the command of Indra, watched over his personal security, and where speech was necessary acted as spokesman. At Nalanda, a village near Rajagriha, Mahavira acquired a follower named Gosala, so called from his birth in a cow-house, a man of low caste and vulgar propensities, and who acts as a sort of buffoon²⁰³. He

²⁰³ Some curious and unintelligible things are related of this individual, which suggest a suspicion that the author had in view

is involved in repeated difficulties and not infrequently receives a beating, but when free from fault, the Yakshas, who attend on Siddhartha, come to his aid, and destroy with fire the houses and property of his assailants. Amongst other enemies he provokes the followers of Varddhana Suri, the disciple of Chandra-acharya, a teacher of the Jaina faith, according to the doctrines of Parsvanath. In the course of the dispute it appears that the followers of Parsvanath wore clothes, whilst Mahavira was indifferent to vesture, and the latter consequently belonged to the division of the Jains called Digambaras, or those who go naked, whilst Parsvanath's disciples were Svetambaras, dressed in garments²⁰⁴. During the six years expended in this manner Mahavira visits a number of places, most of which appear to be in Behar and the adjacent provinces, as Rajagriha, Sravasti near Oudh, Vaisali, which is identified with the capital of Behar and others.

Proceeding on his peregrinations Mahavira voluntarily exposed himself to be maltreated by the Mlechchha tribes of Vajrabhumi, Suddhibhumi, and Lat, or Lar, the countries apparently of the Gonds, who abused and beat him, and shot at him with arrows, and baited him with dogs, to all which he offered no resistance, and indeed rejoiced in his sufferings; for, however necessary to personal purification, it is not the duty of a Jain ascetic to inflict tortures upon himself—his course of penance is one of self-denial, fasting and silence, and pain, however meritorious its endurance, must be inflicted by others, not himself. At the end of the ninth year Mahavira relinquished his silence in answer to a question put by Gosala, but continued engaged in the practice of mortification and in an erratic life. His squire having learned from him the possession of the Tejalessya, or power of ejecting flame, and having learned from certain of the disciples of Parsvanath, what is technically

some of the oriental legends relating to Mani or Manes. The birth of Gosala in a cow-house may or may not refer to Christianity; but it is also observed that his father and mother carried about a Chitra pattika, a painted cloth or picture, which Gosala stole from them, and that when he adopted the service of Mahavira, he abandoned the heresy of the picture, chitraphalakapashandam vihaya.

204 They reply to Gosala's enquiry: "We are the pupils of Parsva, free from restraint"—to which he rejoins: "How can you be free from restraint, encumbered with clothes and the like? these heretical practices are adopted merely for a livelihood: wholly unfettered by clothes and such things, and disregarding the body, the followers of such a teacher as mine is, are the only persons exempt from restraint." Further confirmation of Mahavira and his followers being Digambaras occurs in various places, especially in a passage where Gosala gets beaten, and almost killed by the women of a village in Magadha, because he is a naked Sramana, or mendicant.

termed, the Mahanimitta of the eight Angas, intending probably their scriptural doctrines, set up for himself as a Jina, and quitted his master.

Indra having declared that Mahavira's meditations could not be disturbed by men or gods, one of the inferior spirits of heaven, indignant at the assertion, assailed the Sage with a variety of horrors and temptations, but in vain. Mahavira's pious abstraction was unbroken. He then wandered about and visited Kausambi, the capital of Satanika, where he was received with great veneration, and where his period of self-denial ended in perfect exemption from human infirmities. The whole of the time expended by him in these preparatory exercises was twelve years and six months, and of this he had fasted nearly eleven years. His various fasts are particularised with great minuteness, as one of six months, nine of four months each, twelve of one month, and seventy-two of half a month each, making altogether ten years and three hundred and forty-nine days.

The bonds of action were snapped like an old rope, and the Kevala, or only knowledge attained by Mahavira on the north bank of the Rijupalika, under a Sal tree, on the tenth of the light fortnight Vaisakha, in the fourth watch of the day, whilst the moon was in the asterism Hasta. Indra instantly hastened to the spot, attended by thousands of deities, who all did homage to the Saint, and attended him on his progress to Apapuri, in Behar, where he commenced his instructions on a stage erected for the purpose by the deities, a model of which is not uncommonly represented in Jain temples. The following is the introductory lecture ascribed to Mahavira by his biographer.

"The world is without bounds, like a formidable ocean ; its cause is action (Karina) which is as the seed of the tree. The being (Jiva) invested with body, but devoid of judgement, goes like a well-sinker ever downwards by the acts it performs, whilst the embodied being which has attained purity goes over upwards by its own acts, like the builder of a palace. Let not any one injure life, whilst bound in the bonds of action ; but be as assiduous in cherishing the life of another as his own. Never let any one speak falsehood, but always speak the truth. Let every one who has a bodily form avoid giving pain to others as much as to himself. Let no one take property not given to him, for wealth is like the external life of men, and he who takes away such wealth commits as it were murder. Associate not with women, for it is the destruction of life : let the wise observe continence, which binds them to the Supreme. But not encumbered with a family, for by the anxiety it involves the person separated from it falls like an ox too heavily laden.

If it be not in their power to shun these more subtle destroyers of life, let those who desire so to do avoid at least the commission of all gross offences."

When Mahavira's fame began to be widely diffused, it attracted the notice of the Brahmans of Magadha, and several of their most eminent teachers undertook to refute his doctrines. Instead of effecting their purpose, however, they became converts, and constituted his Ganadharas, heads of schools, the disciples of Mahavira and teachers of his doctrines, both orally and scripturally. It is of some interest to notice them in detail, as the epithets given to them are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead to erroneous notions respecting their character and history.

This is particularly the case with the first, Indrabhuti, or Gautama, who has been considered as the same with the Gautama of the Buddhists, the son of Mayadevi, and author of the Indian metaphysics²⁰⁵. That any connexion exists between the Jain and the Brahmana Sage is, at least, very doubtful ; but the Gautama of the Buddhists, the son of Suddhodana and Maya, was a Kshatriya, a prince of the royal or warrior caste. All the Jain traditions make their Gautama a Brahman, originally of the Gotra, or tribe of Gotama Rishi, a division of the Brahmans well known, and still existing in the South of India. These two persons therefore cannot be identified, whether they be historical or fictitious personages.

Indrabhuti, Agnibhuti, and Vayubhuti are described as the sons of Vasubhuti, a Brahman of the Gotama tribe, residing at Govara, a village in Magadha : from their race, Hemachandra, in the Commentary on the Vocabulary²⁰⁶, observes, they are all called Gautamas. Vyakta and Sudharma were the sons of Dhanamitra and Dhammilla, two Brahmans of Kollaka, the former of the Bharadwaja, and the latter of the Agnivaisya tribe. Mandita and Mauryaputra were half-brothers, the sons of Vijayadevi by Dhanadeva and Maurya, two Brahmans of the Vaisishtha and Kasyapa races, but cousins by the mother's side, and consequently, according to the custom of the country, it is stated, the one took the other's widow to wife upon his decease. Akampita was the son of a Maithili Brahman, of the Gautama tribe ; Achalabhrata, of a Brahman of Oudh, of the Harita family ; Metarya was Brahman of Vatsa, of the Kaundinya tribe ; and Prabhasa, a Brahman of the same race, but a native of Rajagriha in Behar. These are the eleven Ganadharas, holders or masters of Jaina schools, although, before their conversion, learned in the four Vedas, and teaching the doctrines contained in them.

²⁰⁵ R. A. S. *Transactions*, Vol. I, p. 538.

²⁰⁶ [Sl. 31. Weber, *Ueber das Satrunjaya Mahatmyam*, p. 3-5.]

These converts to Jain principles are mostly made in the same manner : each comes to the Saint, prepared to overwhelm him with shame, when he salutes them mildly by name, tells them the subject that excites their unuttered doubts and solves the difficulty, not always very satisfactorily or distinctly, it must be admitted ; but the whole is an epitome of the Jain notions on those subjects which chiefly engage the attention of the Hindu philosophers.

Indrabhuti doubts whether there be life (Jiva) or not—Mahavira says there is, and that it is the vessel of virtue and vice, or where would be the use of acts of virtue or piety.

Agnibhuti questions if there be acts (Karma) or not, to which Mahavira replies in the affirmative, and that from them proceed all bodily pleasure and pain, and the various migrations of the living principle through different forms.

Vayubhuti doubts if life be not body, which the Sage denies, as the objects of the senses may be remembered after the senses cease to act, even after death, that is, in a succeeding state of existence occasionally.

Vyakta questions the reality of elementary matter, referring it with the Vedantists to illusion ; the Sage replies that the doctrine of vacuity is false, illustrating his position rather obscurely by asking if there are no other worlds than the Gandharva, cities of dreams, or castles in the air.

Sudharma imagines that the same kind of bodies which are worn in one life will be assumed in another, or that a human being must be born again amongst mankind ; for as the tree is always of the same nature as the seed, so must the consequences of acts, in a peculiar capacity, lead to results adapted to a similar condition. This Mahavira contradicts, and says that causes and effects are not necessarily of the same nature, as horn, and similar materials are convertible into arrow-barbs, and the like.

Mandita has not made up his mind on the subjects of bondage and liberation, (Bandha and Moksha) ; the Jina explains the former to be connexion with and dependence on worldly acts, whilst the latter is total detachment from them, and independence of them effected by knowledge.

Mauryaputra doubts of the existence of gods, to which Mahavira opposes the fact of the presence of Indra, and the rest around his throne. They cannot bear the odour of mere mortality, he adds ; but they never fail to attend at the birth, inauguration, and other passages of the life of a Jina.

Akampita is disposed to disbelieve the existence of the spirits of hell, because he cannot see them ; but the Sage says

that they are visible to those possessing certain knowledge, of whom *he* is one.

Achalabhrata is sceptical as to the distinction between vice and virtue, for which Mahavira rebukes him, and desires him to judge of them by their fruits : length of days, honourable birth, health, beauty and prosperity being the rewards in this life of virtue; and the reverse of these the punishments of vice.

Metarya questions a future existence, because life having no certain form must depend on elementary form, and consequently perish with it; but Mahavira replies, that life is severally present in various elementary aggregates to give them consciousness, and existing independent of them, may go elsewhere when they are dissolved. He adds, in confirmation of the doctrine, that the *Srutis* and *Smritis*, that is, the scriptural writings of the Brahmanas, assert the existence of other worlds.

The last of the list is Prabhasa, who doubts if there be such a thing as Nirvana, that state of non-entity which it is the object of a Jaina saint to attain. The solution is not very explicit. Nirvana is declared to be the same with Moksha, liberation, and Karmakshaya, abrogation of acts, and that this is real is proved by the authority of the Veda, and is visibly manifested in those who acquire true knowledge.

According to this view of the Jain system, therefore, we find the vital principle recognised as a real existence animating in distinct portions distinct bodies, and condemned to suffer the consequences of its actions by migrations through various forms. The reality of elementary matter is also asserted, as well as of gods, demons, heaven, and hell. The final state of the vital and sentient principle is left rather obscure, but as its actual and visible exemption from human acts is taught, it follows that it is exempt from their consequences or repeated births in various shapes, and therefore ceases to be in any sensible or suffering form. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject here, as we shall have occasion to recur to it.

After the conversion of these Brahmanas and their disciples, Mahavira instructed them further in his doctrines, and they again taught them to others, becoming the heads of separate schools. Akampita and Achalabhrata, however, and Metarya and Prabhasa taught in common, so that the eleven Ganadhipas established but nine Ganas or classes²⁰⁷.

Having thus attained the object of his penance and silence, Mahavira, attended by his disciples, wandered about to different places, disseminating the Jain belief, and making numerous converts. The scene of his labours is mostly along the Ganges,

in the modern districts of Behar and Allahabad, and principally at the cities of Kausambi and Rajagriha, under the kings Sasanika and Srenika, both of whom are Jains. The occurrences described relate more to the disciples of the Saint than to himself, and there are some curious matters of an apparently historical character. There is also a prophetic account of Hemachandra himself, and his patron Kumara Pala of Gujarat, put into the mouth of Mahavira ; but these are foreign to our present purpose, which is confined to the progress of the Jain sage.

Mahavira having completed the period of his earthly career, returned to Apapapuri, whither he was attended by a numerous concourse of followers of various designations. However fanciful the enumeration, the list is not uninteresting, as it displays the use of various terms to signify different orders of one sect, and not, as has been sometimes erroneously supposed, the sect itself. Sramanas, Sadhus and Sravaks may be Jains, but they are not necessarily so, nor do they singly designate all the individuals of that persuasion. Vira's train consists of Sadhus, holy men, fourteen thousand ; Sadhwis, holy women, thirty-six thousand ; Sramanas, or ascetics, versed in the fourteen Purvas, three hundred ; Avadhijnanis, those knowing the limits or laws, one thousand and three hundred ; Kevalis, or detached from acts, seven hundred ; Manovits, possessors of intellectual wisdom, five hundred ; Vadis, controversialists, four hundred ; Sravakas, the male laity, one lakh and fifty-nine thousands ; and Sravikas, female hearers of the word, double that number, or three lakhs eighteen thousand. The only Ganadharas present were Gautama and Sudharma, the other nine having attained felicity, or having died before their master.

The period of his liberation having arrived, Mahavira resigned his breath, and his body was burned by Sakra and other deities, who divided amongst them such parts as were not destroyed by the flames, as the teeth and bones, which they preserved as relics ; the ashes of the pile were distributed amongst the assistants : the gods erected a splendid monument on the spot, and then returned to their respective heavens. These events occurred on the day of new moon, in the month Kartik, when Mahavira was seventy-two years of age, thirty of which were spent in social duties, and the rest in religious avocations, and he died two hundred and fifty years after the preceding Jina, Parsvanath : no other date is given, but in the passage, in the prophetic strain above alluded to, it is mentioned that Kumara Pala will found Anahilla Pattan, (formerly called Analavata) and become the disciple of Hemachandra, one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine years after the death of Mahavira.

The conversion of Kumara Pala occurred about A. D. 1174²⁰⁸, and consequently the last Jina expired about five hundred years before the Christian era. According to other authorities the date assigned to this event is commonly about a century and a half earlier, or before Christ six hundred and sixty-three²⁰⁹, but Hemachandra is a preferable guide, although, in point of actual chronology, his date is probably no more to be depended upon than those derived from other sources.

The doctrines of the Jains, which constitute the philosophy of their system, is no part of the present plan to discuss : but a few of the leading tenets, as derived from original authorities, may be here briefly adverted to. It is the more necessary to dwell on the subject, as the chief opinions of the sect of Jina, as described elsewhere, have for the most part been taken from verbal communication, or the controversial writings of the Brahmans.

An eternal and presiding first cause forms no part of the Jain creed, nor do the Jains admit of soul or spirit as distinct from the living principle. All existence is divisible into two heads—Life (*Jiva*) or the living and sentient principle ; and Inertia or *Ajiva*, the various modifications of inanimate matter. Both these are uncreated and imperishable. Their forms and conditions may change, but they are never destroyed ; and with the exception of the unusual cases in which peculiar living principle ceases to be subject to bodily acts, both life and matter proceed in a certain course, and at stated periods the same forms, the same characters, and the same events are repeated.

To proceed, however ; according to the original authorities, all objects, sensible or abstract, are arranged under nine categories, termed *Tattwas*, truths or existences, which we shall proceed to notice in some detail²¹⁰.

I. *Jiva*, Life, or the living and sentient principle, as existing in various forms, but especially reducible to two classes, those with, and those without mobility. The first comprises animals, men, demons, and gods—the second, all combinations of the four elements, earth, water, fire, air, as minerals, vapours, meteors, and tempests—and all the products of the vegetable kingdom. They are again arranged in five classes according

208 [See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III, 567. Weber, l. i., p. 46.]

209 Colonel Mackenzie, on the information of the Belligola Jains, says Varddhamana attained beatitude 2464 years before the year 1801, which is 663 years before Christ. Colebrooke observes, that the Jains of Bengal reckon Varddhamana to have lived 580 years before Vikramaditya, which is A. C. 636.

210 [*Sarvadarsana Sangraha*, p. 35 ff. Stevenson, the *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 116 ff. Colebrooke, *Essays*, p. 245 ff. 296.]

to their possession of as many *Indriyas*, or sensible properties. The wholly unconscious bodies to ordinary apprehension, but which have a subtle vitality preceptible to saintly and super-human beings, have the property of form : such are minerals, and the like. Snails, worms, and insects, in general, have two properties—form and face. Lice, fleas, and the like have three properties, or form, face, and the organ of smell. Bees, gnats, and the rest have, in addition to these, vision ; whilst animals, men, demons, and gods have form, vision, hearing, smell and taste. To these five predicates of vital beings two others are sometimes added, and they are said to be *Sanjninah* and *Asanjninah*, or, born by procreation or spontaneously generated. Again, these seven orders are distinguished as complete or incomplete, making altogether fourteen classes of living things. According to the acts done or suffered in each condition, the vital principle migrates to an inferior or superior grade, until it is emancipated from bodily acts altogether. It is a peculiarity of the Jain notions of life, that it is always adapted to the body it animates, and diminishes with the gnat, and expands to the elephant, a notion that is treated with just ridicule by the Brahmins. Generically, it is defined to be without beginning or end, endowed with attributes of its own, agent and enjoyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it animates ; through sin it passes into animals, or goes to hell ; through virtue and vice combined it passes into men, and through virtue alone ascends to heaven ; through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation.

II. *Ajiva*, the second predicate of existence, comprises objects or properties devoid of consciousness and life. These seem to be vaguely and variously classed, and to be general incapable of interpretation ; but the enumeration is commonly fourteen, like the modification of vitality. They are *Dharmastikaya*, *Adharmastikaya*, and *Akasastikaya*, each comprehending three varieties. *Kala*, or time, is the tenth ; and *Pudgala*, or elementary matter, in four modifications, completes the series.

It is not very easy to understand these technicalities, for the etymology of the words is of little avail. *Astikaya* indicates the existence of body, "Body is" ; whilst *Dharma* signifies virtue, and *Adharma*, vice ; but *Dharma* means also peculiar function or office, in which sense it seems to be here intended, thus—*Dharmastikaya* is defined to be that which facilitates the notion of animate or inanimate bodies, as water for fish. *Adharmastikaya* is that which impedes or stops their motion. *Akasastikaya* is the principle of repulsion, that which keeps bodies separate, or space : the varieties of these are only in degree, or little, more, and complete. Time is sufficiently intelligible, but the Jains indulge in modifications of it infinitely more extravagant than those for which the Hindus are reproached ; thus after enu-

merating days, weeks, months, and years, we have the Palya²¹¹, or Palyopama, a period measured by the time in which a vast well, one hundred Yojans every way, filled with minute hairs so closely packed that a river might be hurried over them without penetrating the interstices, could be emptied at the rate of one hair in a century. A Sagaropama is one hundred million millions of Palyas, and an Avasarpini and Utsarpini, which make up a great age, consists each of one hundred million millions of Sagaras. Pudgala is atomic matter, distinguished like the first three categories, by being combined in three degrees—little, much, and most, whilst it adds a fourth state, or that of Paramanu, primitive, subtle, indivisible, and uncombined.

III. The third Tattwa is *Punya*, Good, or whatever is the cause of happiness to living beings : the subdivisions of this category are forty-two: it will be sufficient here to enumerate a few of the principal.

1. *Uchchhaigotra*, high birth, rank, or the respect of mankind.

2. *Manushyagati*, the state of man, either as obtained from some other form of being or continuance in it.

3. *Suragati*, the state of divinity, Godhead.

4. *Panchendriya*, the state of superior vitality, or possession of five organs of sense.

5. *Panchadeha*, the possession of body, or form of one of five kinds :

Audarika, elementary—that arising from the aggregation of elements, as the bodies of men and beasts.

Vaikriya, transmigrated—that assumed in consequence of acts, as the forms of spirits and gods.

Aharika, adventitious, one assumed, such as that of the *Purvadhara*s, of one cubit in stature, when they went to see the *Tirthankaras* in *Mahavidehakshetra*.

Taijasa, the form obtained by suppressing mortal wants, in which state fire can be ejected from the body.

Karmana, the form which is the necessary consequence of acts. These two last are necessarily connected from all time, and can only be disunited by final liberation, or *Moksha*.

Other varieties of 'Good' are colour, odour, flavour, touch, warmth, coolness, and the like.

IV. *Papa*, or 'Ill', in contradistinction to the preceding, and implying that which is the cause of unhappiness to mankind : there are eighty-two kinds ;

211 [See Hemachandra's *Abhidh.* 132, and p. 304.]

As the five Avaranas, or difficulties in acquiring as many gradations of holy or divine wisdom. Five Antarayas, disappointments, or impediments, as not obtaining what is about to be presented, not being able to enjoy an object of fruition when in possession of it, and want of vigour though in bodily health. Four Darsanavasanas, obstructions, or impediments to information derivable from the senses, or the understanding or to acquirement of divine knowledge. Five states of sleep, inferior birth, pain, as a condition of existence, as when condemned to purgatory, belief in false gods, defect of size or shape, and all the human passions and infirmities—as anger, pride, covetousness, &c., including, amongst the ills of life, laughter and love.

V. Asrava is that source from which the evil acts of living beings proceed. The varieties are the five Indriyas, or organs of sense: the four Kashayas, or passions, as wrath, pride, covetousness, and deceit ; the five Avratas, non-observance of positive commands, as lying, stealing, &c. and three Yogas, addiction or attachment of the mind, speech, and body to any act ; Kriyas, or acts, of which twenty-six varieties are specified as those performed with any part of the body, or with the instrumentality of a weapon, or the like—those prompted by feelings of hate or wrath—those which are inceptive, progressive, or conclusive—those performed by oneself, or through another creature—those which are suggested by impiety, or unbelief in the doctrine of the Tirthankaras.

VI. The sixth Tattwa is termed Samvara, and is that by which acts are collected or impeded. There are fifty-seven varieties classed under six heads.

1. Samiti, keeping the attention properly alive, so as to see immediately if an insect is in the way, to refrain from uttering what should not be said, to distinguish any of the forty-two defects in food given as alms, taking or relinquishing any thing indifferently, and avoiding or abandoning unfit things.

2. Gupti, secrecy, or reserve of three kinds, or in mind, speech and person.

3. Parishaha, endurance or patience, as when a person has taken a vow of abstemiousness he must bear hunger and thirst; so he must endure heat and cold, when he practices the immovable posture of Jain abstraction ; if he is disappointed in what he has laboured or begged for, he must not murmur; and if he is reviled or even beaten, he must patiently submit.

4. Yatidharma, the duties of an ascetic; these are ten in number : patience, gentleness, integrity, and disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty, and continence.

5. Bhavana, conviction or conclusion, such as that worldly existences are not eternal, that there is no refuge after death, that life is perpetually migrating through the eighty-four lakhs of living forms, that life is one or many : it also includes perception of the source whence evil acts proceed, and the like.

The sixth division of this class is Charitra, practice or observance, of five sorts : Samayika, conventional, or the practice and avoidance of such actions as are permitted or prescribed ; Chhedopasthapaniya, prevention of evil, as of the destruction of animal life ; Pariharavisuddhi, purification by such mortification and penance as are enjoined by the example of ancient saints and sages. Sulaksmasamparaya, the practices of those pious men who have attained a certain degree of eminence ; and Yathakhyatam, the same after all the impediments and impurities of human nature are overcome or destroyed.

VII. Nirjara, the seventh Tattwa, is the religious practice that destroys mortal impurities, or, in other words, penance : it is of two kinds, external and internal ; the first comprehends fasting, continence, silence, and bodily suffering ; the second, repentance, piety, protection of the virtuous, study, meditation, and disregard, or rejection of both virtue and vice.

VIII. Bandha is the integral association of life with acts, as of milk with water, fire with a red hot iron ball ; it is of four kinds : Prakriti, the natural disposition or nature of a thing ; Sthiti, duration, or measure of time, through which life continues ; Anubhaga, feeling, or sensible quality ; Pradesa, atomic individuality. The characters of this principle are illustrated by a confection : 1. According to its natural properties it cures phlegm, bile, &c.; 2. it remains efficient but for a given period ; 3. it is sweet, bitter, sour, &c. ; and 4. it is divisible into large or small proportions, retaining each the properties of the whole mass.

IX. The last of the nine principles is Moksha, or liberation of the vital spirit from the bonds of action ; it is of nine sorts :

1. Satpadaprarupana. The determination of the real nature of things, the consequence of a finite course of progress through different stages of being and purification. It is attainable only by living creatures of the highest order, or those having the five organs of sense; by those possessed of the Trasakaya, or a body endowed with consciousness and mobility ; by those beings which are engendered, not self-produced; by those which have reached the fifth Charitra, or exemption from human infirmity; by those which are in the Kshayika Samyaktwa, or that state of perfection in which elementary or material existence is destroyed ; by those no longer requiring material existence ; by those who have acquired the Kevalajnana, the only knowledge, and Kevaladarsana, or only vision.

2. Dravyapramana, as regulated by the fitness of the things or persons to be emancipated.

3. Kshetrapramana, depending on the essentiality of certain holy places at which only it can be obtained.

4. Sparsana, contact, or identity of the individuated living principle with that of the universe, or any part of it.

5. Kala, the times or ages at which emancipation is attainable ; or the periods spent in various transmigrations.

6. Antara, the difference of temperaments or dispositions.

7. Bhaga, the existence of the imperishable part of all living bodies in which the purified essences or Siddhas reside.

8. Bhava, the nature or property of that pure existence which has attained the Kevalajnana, and other perfections essential to final liberation.

9. Alpapahutwa, the degree or ratio in which different classes of beings obtain emancipation²¹².

For the details of these nine Tattwas the sum of the whole Jain system may be collected, but they form only the text on which further subtilties are founded, any they leave the end and scope of all the doctrine or the attainment of ultimate liberation singularly indistinct.

The Moksha of the Jains is exemption from the incidents of life, and above all from the necessity of being born again; but in what state the living principle subsists after it is so exempted, does not very satisfactorily appear. In one state indeed the bodily individuality remains, or that of Jivanmukti, liberation during life, whilst from most of the subdivisions of Moksha, it follows that the Siddhas, the pure existences, correspond with our notions of spiritual beings, having an impassive and inappreciable form, variable at will, capable of infinite contraction or dilation, and wholly void of feeling or passion. This is not incompatible with their enjoyment of Nirvana, another term for Moksha, and which, as Colebrooke observes, meaning literally, extinct or gone out as a fire, set as a heavenly luminary, defunct as a saint who has passed away, implies profound clam. It is not annihilation," he concludes²¹³, "but unceasing apathy which they, 'the Jains and Buddhas,' understand to be the extinction of their saints, and which they esteem to be supreme felicity worthy to be sought by practice of mortification as well as by acquisition of knowledge."

²¹² Although termed *mokshavedah* in the original authorities, these varieties are rather in the requisite conditions for attaining Moksha, than in the kind or sort of emancipation attained.

²¹³ [Essays, p. 259.]

Besides the notions exhibited in the detail of the nine Tattwas, the Jains are known in controversial writings²¹⁴ by the title Saptavadis, or Saptabhangis, the disputers or refuters of seven positions : more correctly speaking, they are reconcilers, or could be so, of seven contradictory assertions, evincing a sceptical character which justifies another epithet which they acknowledge, of Syadvadis, or assertors of possibilities ; the seven positions are the following :

1. A thing is; 2. it is not; 3. it is and it is not; 4. it is not definable; 5. it is, but it is not definable; 6. it is not, neither it is definable; 7. it is and it is not, and is not definable. Now these positions imply the doctrines of the different schools, the Sankhya, Vedanta, and others, with regard to the world, to life, and to spirit, and are met in every case by the Jains with the reply, Syavda, It may be so sometimes ; that is, whatever of these dogmas is advanced will be true in some respects, and not in others ; correct under some circumstances, and not under others ; and they are therefore not entitled to implicit trust, nor are they irreconcilable. There is one inference to be drawn from this attempt to reconcile the leading doctrines of the principal schools, of some importance to the history of the Jain doctrines, and it renders it probable that they were posterior to all the rest. As this reasoning however has been opposed by Ramanuja, it dates earlier than the twelfth century.

Liberation during life and, as necessary consequence, exemption after from future birth implies the abandonment of eight classes of Karmas, or acts, four of which are noxious and four innoxious ; they are all included under the Tattwa Papa, Ill, as above noticed, but are also more especially detailed. To the first order belong the following :

Jnanavarana, disregard of the various stages of knowledge, from simple comprehension to the only true wisdom, as so many steps to final liberation ;

Darsanavarana, disbelief in the doctrines of the Jaina Saints.

Mohaniya, hesitation in obeying the injunctions of the Jain code, or doubt as to their importance and the consequences of their neglect;

Antaraya, impeding or vexing those engaged in seeking liberation.

The second class comprises :

Vedaniya, self-consciousness or sufficiency ;

Nama, pride of name : Gotra, pride of birth ; and Ayushka, attachment to bodily existence.

214 [e.g. *Sarvadarsana Sangr.* pp. 41. 42.]

These essential principles of the faith are common to all classes of Jains, but some differences occur in their Duties as they are divided into religious or lay orders, Yatis and Sravakas. Implicit belief in the doctrines and actions of the Tirthankaras is, of course, obligatory on both ; but the former are expected to follow a life of abstinence, taciturnity, and continence, whilst the latter add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the Tirthankaras, and profound reverence for their more pious brethren. The moral code of the Jains is expressed in five Mahavratas, or great duties : Refraining from injury to life, truth, honesty, chastity, and freedom from worldly desires. There are four Dharmas, or merits—liberality, gentleness, piety, and penance; and three sorts of restraint—government of the mind, the tongue, and the person. To these are superadded a number of minor instructions or prohibitions, sometimes of a beneficial and sometimes of a trivial, or even ludicrous tendency, such as to abstain, at certain seasons, from salt, flowers, green fruit, and roots, honey, grapes, and tobacco; to drink water thrice strained ; never to leave a liquid uncovered, lest an insect should be drowned in it ; not to deal in soap, natron, indigo, and iron ; and never to eat in the dark lest a fly should be swallowed. Religious characters wear a piece of cloth over their mouths to prevent insects from flying into them, and carry a brush under their arms to sweep the place on which they are about to sit, to remove any ants or other living creatures out of the way of danger. Upon the whole, the doctrine of the Jains is a system of quietism calculated to render those who follow it perfectly innoxious, and to inspire them with apathetic indifference towards both this world and the next.

The ritual of the Jains is as simple as their moral code. The Yati, or devotee, dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the lay votary is only bound to visit daily a temple where some of the images of the Tirthankaras are erected, walk round it three times, make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such Mantra, or prayer, as the following : "*Namo Arihantanam, Namō Siddhanam, Namō Aryanam, Namō Upajyanam, Namō Loe Sabba Sahunam*—Salutation to the Arhats, to the Pure Existences, to the Sages, to the Teachers, to all the Devout in the world." A morning prayer is also repeated : "*Ichchhami khama Samano bandiyan, jo man jaye nisiaye ; mathena vandami*—I beg forgiveness, oh Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head." The worshipper then perhaps remains to hear read part of the *Kalpasutra* or *Bhaktamara*, or some narrative of one or other of the Tirthankaras, and the devotion of their followers, and proceeds to his daily occupations.

The reader in a Jain temple is a Yati, or religious charac-

ter ; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies is a Brahman. It is a curious peculiarity in the Jain system, that they should have no priests of their own, but it is the natural consequence of the doctrine and example of the Tirthankaras, who performed no rites, either vicariously or for themselves, and gave no instruction as to their observance. It shows also the true character of this form of faith, that it was a departure from established practices, the observance of which was held by the Jain teachers to be matter of indifference, and which none of any credit would consent to regulate ; the laity were, therefore, left to their former priesthood, as far as outward ceremonies were concerned.

The objects of worship are probably only the Tirthankaras, but the Jains do not deny the existence of the Hindu gods, and admit such of them as they have chosen to connect with the adventures of their saints, according to the classification of their own, to a share in the worship offered to their human superiors.

According to the Mythology which they have adopted and modified the Jains reckon four classes of divine beings whom they name Bhuvanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotishkas, and Vaimanikas ; the first comprises ten orders ; the progeny of the Asuras, Serpents, Garuda, the Dikpalas, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning,—who are supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the Earth. The second has eight orders : the Pisachas, Bhutas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, and other monstrous or terrestrial divinities inhabiting mountains, woods, and forests, as well as the lower regions, or air. The third has five orders : the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms, and other heavenly bodies. The fourth includes the Gods of present and past Kalpas. Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens, Saudharama, Isana, Mahendra, Brahma, Sanatkumara, Sukra, and others to the number of twelve, or in the Kalpas, when Sudharma and the rest were severally presiding Deities. The last class reside in two divisions of five and of nine heavens—the five termed Vijaya, Vajrayanti, &c. ; the second termed Anutara, because there are none beyond them, as they crown the triple construction of the universe. In the sovereignty of the hosts of heaven a great number of Indras are recognised, but of these two are always specified as the chief, Sukra and Isana, one regent of the north, the other of the south heaven : the former alone has eighty-four thousand fellow gods, each of whom has myriads of associates and attendants.

Above all these rank in dignity, and as objects of worship, the twenty-four Tirthankaras, or with those of the past and of the future periods seventy-two. Allusion is made by Hema-

chandra, in his life of Mahavira, to a hundred and one, and the same work specifies four Sasvat or eternal Jinas, Rishabhana, Chandranana, Varisena, and Varddhamana. What is meant by them is not explained, and they are not recognised by all Jains.

The presence of Brahman ministrants, or the lapse of time and the tendency of the native mind to multiply objects of veneration, seems to have introduced different innovations into the worship of the Jains in different parts of Hindustan ; and in upper India the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulae derived from the Tantras, and belonging more properly to the Saiva and Sakta worship. Images of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis, the fierce attendants on Siva and Kali, take their place in Jain temples, and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sarasvati and Devi²¹⁵.

In the South of India, from the account given by Colin Mackenzie, it appears that the Jains observe all the Brahmanical Sanskaras, or essential ceremonies. This is not the case in Upper India, and the only rites followed are the Initiation of the infant, twelve days after birth, by repeating a Mantra over it, making a circular mark with the sandal and perfumes on the top of the head ; marriage and cremation, which are much the same as those of the Brahmans, omitting the Mantras of the Vedas. Sraddhas, obsequial ceremonies at stated periods, are not performed by the Jains in Upper Hindustan.

The festivals of the Jains are peculiar to themselves, and occur especially on the days consecrated by the birth or death of some of the principal Tirthankaras, especially the two last, Parsvanath and Varddhamana. The places where these events occurred are also objects of pilgrimage, and very numerous assemblages of devout pilgrims occur at them at different seasons : thus, in Behar, a very celebrated place of resort is the scene of Parsvanath's liberation ; the mountain Samet Sikhara, or Parasnath, near Pachete²¹⁶ ; and another of equal sanctity,

²¹⁵ Thus in a *Pujapaddhati* procured at Mainpuri, where a Jain temple of considerable size stands, the Tirthankaras, as they are severally presented with offerings, are addressed; *Om Sri Rishabhaya Svasti—Om Hrim hum: and Om Hrim Sri Sudharmacharya, Adigurubhyo Namah, Om Hrim Hram, Samajinachaityalayebhyo Sri Jinendrebhyo namah.* There are also observances for regular Hindu festivals, as the Sripanchami, Akshayatriya, &c., when Sarasvati and other goddesses are invoked. Rules are given for the Ghata Sthapana, when Sakti or Devi is supposed to be present in a water jar erected as her receptacle and emblem, and the Shodasa Karana Puja ends with a Lakshmi Stotra, or Hymn, addressed to the Goddess of Prosperity.

²¹⁶ Described very fully, as previously noticed, in the *Quarterly Magazine* for December, 1827.

the scene of Varddhamana's departure from earth, is at Papapuri²¹⁷, in the same province. Pilgrims come from all parts of India to these places at all seasons, but the principal Melas are held at the former in Magh, and in Kartik at the latter. On the western side of India the mountains of Abu²¹⁸ and Girnar are the great scenes of pilgrimage, being covered with Jain temples and remains. Rishabha Deva and Neminath seem to be the favourite divinities in that quarter.

Besides these particular festivals, the Jains observe several that are common to the Hindus, as the Vasantayatra, of spring festival, the Sripanchami, and others ; they also hold in veneration certain of the Lunar days, as the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th and 12th ; on these no new work should be undertaken, no journey commenced, and fasting, or abstinence at least, and continence should be observed.

The origin of the Jain faith is immersed in the obscurity which invests all remote history amongst the Hindus. That it is the most recent of all the systems pursued in Hindustan is rendered highly probable by the extravagances in which it deals, by the doctrines it opposes to those of all other schools, and by the comparatively recent date of many Jain authors of celebrity and of numerous monumental relics ; but at what period it actually took its rise it is not easy to determine.²¹⁹ Colebrooke has suggested the probability of the Jain religion being the work of Parsvanath, in the account of whom there is a nearer approach to sober history and credible chronology than in the narratives of his predecessors. This would throw back the origin of the Jaina faith to the ninth century before

217 It is also written Apapapuri and Pavapuri, under which latter name, it and other celebrated Jaina shrines in Behar are described by a Native traveller, a Jain, in the service of Colin Mackenzie, in the *Calcutta Magazine* for June, 1823.

218 See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. Jain Inscriptions at Abu.

219 Major Delamaine observes, "the usual idea of the Jains being a modern sect may not be erroneous: the doctrines originating with Rishabha, and continued by Arhanta, dividing at periods of schism into more distinct classes, of which the Jains or Sravaks, as now established, form one, and the modern Buddhas, as in Burma, Siam, Ceylon, Tibet, &c. another." *T. R. A. S. I.*, 427.—"Were I disposed to speculate on the origin of the Jains from the striking coincidences of doctrine and religious usages between them and the Buddhists, I should be led to conjecture that they were originally a sect of Buddhists." Erskine, *Bombay Trans.* III, 502.—"It is certainly probable, as remarked by Hamilton and Major Delamaine, that the Gautama of the Jinas and of the Buddhists is the same personage, and this leads to the further surmise that both these sects are branches of one stock.—Both have adopted the Hindu Pantheon, or assemblage of subordinate deities, both disclaim the authority of the Vedas, and both elevate their pre-eminent saints to divine supremacy." Colebrooke, *Trans. R. A. S. I.*, 521.

the Christian era, admitting the Jain chronology of Varddhamana's existence ; but it is difficult to concur in the accuracy of so remote a date, and whatever indirect evidence on the subject is procurable is opposed to such a belief.

It has been supposed that we have notices of the Jaina sect as far back as the time of the Macedonian invasion of India, or at least at the period at which Megasthenes was sent ambassador to Sandracoptus, and that these notices are recorded by Strabo and Arrian. The nature of the expressions which those and other writers have employed has been canvassed by Colebrooke²²⁰, and shown satisfactorily to establish the existence at that time of the regular Brahmins, as well as of other sects : what those sects were, however, it was no part of his object to enquire, and he has left it still to be ascertained how far it can be concluded that the Jainas were intended.

Much perplexity in the Greek accounts of the Brahman Gymnosophists has, no doubt, occurred from their not having been acquainted with the subdivision of the priestly caste into the four orders of student, householder, hermit, and mendicant, and therefore they describe the Brahman sometimes as living in towns, sometimes in woods, sometimes observing celibacy, and sometimes married, sometimes as wearing clothes, and sometimes as going naked ; contradictions which, though apparently irreconcilable if the same individuals or classes be meant, were appreciated by the shrewdness of Bayle more justly than he was himself aware of²²¹, and are all explained by the Acharas, or institutes of the Hindus, as affecting the various periods of life and corresponding practices of Brahmanical devotion.

As far, therefore, as the customs or observances of the Gymnosophists are described, we have no reason to conclude that any but the followers of the Vedas are intended, and the only part of the account applicable to any other sect is the term Germanes, or Sermanes, or Samanoeans, applied to one division of the Sophists or Sages. This name, as Colebrooke observes, seems to bear some affinity to the Sramanas, or ascetics of the Jains or Buddhists, but we can derive no positive conclusion from a resemblance, which may possibly be rather imaginary than real, and the object of which, after all, is far from being the individual property of any sect, but is equally applicable

220 [and by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 700 ff., 710.]

221 "It may be that they (the Brachmanes) did not follow the same institutes in all ages, and that with a distinction of time one might reconcile some of the variations of the authors who have spoken of them."—Article Brachmans, Note C. Harris (I, 454) also has rightly estimated the real character of the Germanes, and concluded that they were nothing but Gioghis, from Pietro della Valle's description of the latter.

to the ascetic of every religious system. As distinct from the Brahmans, the Sarmanes will be equally distinct from the Jains: for the Brahmans, it is said by Porphyry, are of one race; and the Samanoeans are selected from all the tribes, and consist of persons choosing to prosecute divine studies,—precisely the independent Sannyasi or Gossain of modern times, few persons of which description belong to the order of the Brahmans, or are united with the rest by any community of origin or peculiarity of faith.

Again, another word has been adduced in corroboration of the existence of the Jains, and it may be admitted that this is a better proof than the preceding, as the Pramnoe²²² are declared to be the opposers of the Brahmans, which is nowhere mentioned of the Sarmanes. This expression is said to designate the Jains, but this is far from certain: the term is probably derived from Pramana, proof, evidence, and is especially the right of the followers of the logical school, who are usually termed Pramanikas: it is applicable, however, to any sect which advocates positive or ocular proof in opposition to written dogmas, or belief in scriptural authority, and is in that sense more correctly an epithet of the Buddhist sectaries than of the Jains, who admit the legends and worship the deities of the Puranas, and who hold it the height of impiety to question the written doctrines of their own teachers. The proofs from classical writers, therefore, are wholly inadequate to the decision of the antiquity of the Jains, and we are still entirely left to sources of a less satisfactory description.

All writers on Jainism entitled to our attention agree in admitting an intimate connexion between Jainism and Buddhism; the chief analogies have been above adverted to, and the inference of later origin is justly founded on the extravagant exaggerations of the system adopted by the Jains. Their identity of origin rests chiefly upon the name of Gautama, which appears as that of Varddhamana's chief pupil, and as the legislator of the Buddhist nations in the east. The dates also assigned to both are not far removed; the apotheosis of the Gautama Buddha occurring five hundred and forty-three years before Christ, and the death of Mahavira, the preceptor of the Jain Gautama, about the same time. That there is some connexion may be conceded, but for reasons already assigned it is not likely that the persons are the same; the Jains have not improbably derived their Gautama from that of their predecessors²²³.

No argument for the antiquity of the Jains is derivable

222 [See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, I, 835, Weber, *Ind. Lit.* 27.]

223 [Weber: *Ueber das Satrunjaya Mahatmyam*, p. 2-6.]

from the account given of Rishabha in the *Bhagavata Purana*²²⁴. He was not a seceder from the true faith, although the mistaken imitation of his practices is said to have led others into errors, evidently intending the Jain heresy. He is scarcely identifiable, in consequence, with the Jain Rishabha, the first of the Tirthankaras ; but even if that were the case, no confidence could be placed in the authority, as the work is a modern compilation not exceeding, at the most, twelve centuries of antiquity. The refutation of Jaina doctrines in the *Brahma Sutras*²²⁵ is a less questionable testimony of their early existence ; but the date of that work is to be yet ascertained. Sankara Acharya, the commentator on the texts of Vyasa, affords a more definite approximation ; but he will not carry us back above ten centuries. It is also to be observed, that the objects of the attacks of the Sutras and of Sankara are philosophical and speculative tenets, and these may have been current long before they formed part of distinct practical system of faith, as promulgated by a class of Buddhists, the germ of the Jains.

However, we may admit from these authorities the existence of the Jains as a distinct sect, above ten or twelve centuries ago ; we have reason to question their being of any note or importance much earlier. The Buddhists, we know from Clemens of Alexandria, existed in India in the second century of the Christian era, and we find them not only the principal objects of Hindu confutation and anathema, but they are mentioned in works of lighter literature referable to that period, in which the Jains are not noticed, nor alluded to : the omission is the more worthy of notice, because, since Buddhism disappeared from India, and Jainism only has been known, it will be found that the Hindu writers, whenever they speak of Buddhists, show, by the phraseology and practices ascribed to them, that they really mean Jains: the older writers do not make the same mistake, and the usages and expressions which they give to Buddhist personages are not Jain, but Buddhist ; with the one they were familiar, the other were yet unknown.

The literature of the Jains themselves is unfavourable to the notion of high antiquity. Hemchandra, one of their greatest writers, flourished in the end of the twelfth century, and the compiler of the Jaina Puranas of the Dekhan is said to have written at the end of the ninth. The *Kalpa Sutra* professes to have been composed nine hundred and eighty years after the death of Mahavira, or fifteen centuries ago ; but from internal evidence²²⁶ it could not have been composed earlier

224 [V, 5, 28 ff. *Vishnu Pur.*, p. 164, Note.]

225 [II, 2, 6.]

226 [Weber: *Ueber das Satrunjaya Mahatmyam*, p. 7-12, fixes the year 632 p. Chr. as the date of its composition.]

than the twelfth or thirteenth century. Various eminent Jain authors were cotemporary also with Munja and Bhoja, princes of Dhar, in the ninth and tenth century²²⁷, and a number of works seem to have been compiled in the sixteenth century during the tolerant reign of Akbar.

Of the progress of the Jain faith in the Gangetic provinces of Upper India we have no very satisfactory traces. It may be doubted if they ever extended themselves in Bengal. Behar, according to their own traditions, was the birth-place of Vardhamana, and Banaras of Parsvanath; and temples and monuments of their teachers are common in both, particularly the former; but all those now existing are of very recent dates²²⁸, and there are no vestiges referable to an intermediate period between the last Tirthankara, and the eighteenth century. At Banaras its princes professed the faith of Buddha as late as the eleventh century, whilst during the same period, as is proved by inscriptions and the historical work of Chandrakavi, the sovereigns of Kanouj and Delhi were of the orthodox persuasion. It is very doubtful, therefore, if the Jains ever formed a leading sect in this part of Hindustan. They were more successful in the west and south.

In western Marwar, and the whole of the territory subject to [the Chalukya princes of Gujarat, the Jain faith became that of the ruling dynasty; but this occurred at no very remote period. The Muhammadan geographer Edrisi states that the king of Nehrwalla²²⁹ the capital of Gujarat, worshipped Buddha; and we know from the writings of Hemchandra, that he was the apostle of the Jaina faith in the kingdom—converting Kumara Pala, the monarch of Gujarat, to his creed. This is also an occurrence of the twelfth century, or about 1174. The consequences of this conversion are still apparent in the abundant relics of the Jain faith, and the numbers by whom it is professed in Marwar, Gujarat, and the upper part of the Malabar Coast.

On the Coromandel side of the Peninsula the Jains were introduced upon the downfall of Buddhism, in the reign of

²²⁷ [In the tenth and eleventh, according to Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, III, 843-54.]

²²⁸ As late even as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [See, however, *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, III, p. 88 ff.]—These dates are sometimes said to indicate the periods at which the temples were repaired, but the intelligent author of the *Visit to Mount Parsvanath* observes, "only in one instance is there reason to suspect that the buildings are much older than the inscriptions announce. The most ancient Mandir at that place is reckoned to be but fifty years old."—*Calcutta Magazine*, December, 1827.

²²⁹ [i.e. *Analavata*, see Note, *supra*, and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, III, 546.]

Amoghavarsha, king of Tondai Mandalam, in the ninth century or, according to some traditions, in the eighth. Farther south, in Madura, the date of their introduction is not known, but they were in power in the eleventh century under Kuna Pandya. In this, and in the twelfth, they seem to have reached their highest prosperity, and from that period to have declined. Kuna Pandya became a Saiva. Vishnu Varddhana, Raja of Mahisur, was converted from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith in the twelfth century, and about the same time the Lingavant Saivas deposed and murdered Vijala, the Jain king of Kalyan²³⁰. The sect, however, continued to meet with partial countenance from the kings of Vijayanagar until a comparatively modern date.

The conclusions founded on traditionary or historical records are fully supported by the testimony of monuments and inscriptions—the latter of which are exceedingly numerous in the south and west of India. Most of these are very modern—none are earlier than the ninth century. An exception is said to exist in an inscription on a rock at Belligola, recording a grant of land by Chamunda Raya to the Shrine of Gomatisvara, in the year 600 of the Kali age, meaning the Kali of the Jains, which began three years after the death of Varddhamana. This inscription, therefore, if it exists, was written about fifty or sixty years before the Christian era—but it is not clear that any such record is in existence, the fact resting on the oral testimony of the head Pontiff at Belligola: even, if it be legible on the face of the rock, it is of questionable authenticity, as it is perfectly solitary, and no other document of like antiquity has been met with.

The Mackenzie Collection contains many hundred Jain inscriptions. Of these the oldest record grants made by the princes of Homchi²³¹, a petty state in Mahisur. None of them are older than the end of the ninth century. Similar grants, extending through the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Vellala sovereigns of Mahisur, are also numerous, whilst they continue with equal frequency to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the existence of the sovereignty of Vijayanagar. Again, at Abu, under the patronage of the Gujarat princes, we have a number of Jain inscriptions, but the oldest of them bears date Samvat 1245 (A. D. 1189)²³²; they multiply in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and are found as late as middle of the eighteenth—and, finally, in Magadha, the scene of Varddhamana's birth and apotheosis, the oldest inscriptions

230 [Lassen: *Ind. Alt.*, IV, 119 ff., 237 ff.]

231 [See *Journal R. As. Soc.*, III, 217, compared with Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, IV, 239, Note.]

232 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, p. 317.

found date no further back than the beginning of the sixteenth century²³³.

From all credible testimony, therefore, it is imposible to avoid the inference that the Jains are a sect of comparatively recent institution, who first came into power and patronage about the eighth and ninth century : they probably existed before that date as a division of the Buddhists, and owed their elevation to the suppression of that form of faith to which they contributed. This is positively asserted by the traditions of the south in several instances: the Buddhists of Kanchi were confuted by Akalanka, a Jain priest, and thereupon expelled from the country²³⁴. Vara Pandya, of Madura, on becoming a Jain, is said to have persecuted the Buddhists, subjecting them to personal tortures, and banishing them from the country. In Gujarat Buddhist princes were succeeded by the Jains. There is very reason to be satisfied, therefore, that the total disappearance of Buddhism in India proper is connected with the influence of the Jains, which may have commenced in the sixth or seventh centuries, and continued till the twelfth.

The inveteracy prevalent between kindred schisms is a sufficient reason for any enmity felt by the Jains towards the Buddhists, rather than towards the Brahmanical Hindus. There is, indeed, a political leaning to the latter, observable in their recognition of the orthodox Pantheon, in the deference paid to the Vedas, and to the rites derivable from them, to the institution of castes, and to the employment of Brahmans as ministrant priests. They appear also to have adapted themselves to the prevailing form of Hinduism in different places : thus at Abu several Jain inscriptions commence with invocations of Siva²³⁵, and in the Dekhan an edict promulgated by Bukka Raya, of Vijayanagar, declares there is no real difference between the Jains and Vaishnavas²³⁶. In some places the same temples are resorted to by Jains and Ramanujiya Vaishnavas, and, as observed by Colebrooke, a Jain on renouncing the heretical doctrines of his sect takes his place amongst the orthodox Hindus as a Kshatriya or Vaisya, which would not be the case with a convert, who has not already caste as a Hindu²³⁷. In

233 Hamilton's Description of Jain Temples in Behar.—*Trans. R. A. S.*, I, 525. To these may be added the inscriptions at Parsvanath, and a number of inscriptions at Gwalior, copies of which were sent to Fraser, and which are all dated in the middle of the 15th century.

234 [*Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, VII, 122. Lassen, IV, 239.]

235 Delamaine notices that the mountain Girnar is equally sacred to Hindus as to Jains, and that an ancient temple of Mahadeva is erected there.

236 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 270 [Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, IV, 174].

237 *Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society*, I, 549.

the South of India, indeed, the Jains preserve the distinction of castes : in Upper India they profess to be of one caste, or Vaisyas. It is very clear, however, that admission to the Jain communion was originally independent of caste²³⁸, and the partial adoption of it or pretension to it, is either a spontaneous or politic conformity to the strong feeling on the subject which prevails amongst all Hindus.

There are the great outlines of the rise and progress of the sect as derivable from sources entitled to credit; but the Jains have amongst themselves records of sectarial value detailing the succession of different teachers, and the origin of various heresies. Some extracts from one of these attached to a copy of the *Kalpa Sutra* may be acceptable.

The succession of teachers is always deduced from Mahavira, through his disciple Sudharma. Of the rest all but Gautama died before their Master, as has been observed above, and Gautama survived him but a month, which he spent in penance and fasting. Sudharma, therefore, was the only one who remained competent to impart instruction. His pupil was Jambusvami, the last of the Kevalis, or possessors of true wisdom : six teachers follow, termed Srutakevalis, or hearers of the first masters, and then seven others, Dasapurvis, from having been taught the works so named²³⁹. These are common to all the lists when correct. In the Belligola list they are omitted, and the successor of Jambusvami is there named Verasina, who may have been, as Colebrooke remarks, a hundred degrees removed. The lists, subsequently, vary according to the particular line of descent to which they belong.

Of these persons the second Srutakevali is reputed to be the author of the *Dasavaikalika*, one of the standard works of the sect. Suhasti, the second Dasapurvi, was the preceptor of Samprati Raja, and the third, Susthita, founded the Kote

238 Mahavira himself was the son of a king, and should therefore be a Kshatriya. His chief disciples, Indrabhuti, and the rest, were Brahmans. His especial attendant, Gosala, was an outcast, and his followers, of both sexes, were of every caste.

239 The following are the names of the individuals alluded to in the text:

SRUTAKEVALIS.

Prabhava Svami.
Sayyambhadra Suri.
Yasobhadra Suri.
Sambhuti Vijaya Suri.
Bhadrabahu Suri.
Sthulabhadra Suri.

DASAPURVIS.

Arya Mahagiri Suri.
Arya Suhasti Suri.
Arya Susthita Suri.
Indradinna Suri.
Dinna Suri.
Sinhagiri Suri.
Vajrasvami Suri.

[A few variations occur in Hemachandra's *Abhidh.*, sl. 33 and 34, and in the list of Sthaviras, translated by J. Stevenson. See the *Kalpa Sutra* and *Nava Tatva*, p. 100 f.]

gachcha, or tribe. Vajrasvami, the last, established a particular division called the Vajra Sakha.

Of the succeeding teachers, or Suris, the title borne by the spiritual preceptors of the Jains, Chandrasuri, the second, is the founder of the family of that name, eight hundred and nine years, it is said, after the emancipation of Mahavira. In his time, it is stated, the Digambaras arose; but we have seen that they were at least cotemporary with Mahavira.

The 38th on the list, from Mahavira inclusive, Udyotana Suri, first classed the Jains under eighty-nine Gachchas. The 40th Jinesvari who lived A. D. 1024, founded the Khartara family²⁴⁰. With the 44th, Jinadatta, originated the Oswal family, and the Madhyakhartara branch; he was a teacher of great celebrity, and impressions of his feet in plaster or on stone are preserved in some temples, as the Bhelupur in Banaras; he lived in 1148. Other divisions, either of a religious or civil nature, are attributed to various teachers, as the Chitrabala Gachcha to Jinapati Suri, in A. D. 1149; the Anchalika doctrine to Jinesvara in 1160; the Laghu Khartara family to Jinachandra in 1265; another Jinachandra, the 61st in the list, was cotemporary with Akbar. The list closes with the 70th Jina, Harsha Suri, with whom, or his pupils, several works originated in the end of the seventeenth century²⁴¹.

Admitting this record to have been carefully preserved, we have seventy-one persons from Mahavira, to whom a period of less than fourteen centuries can scarcely be assigned, and whose series would, therefore, have begun in the third century. It is not at all unlikely that such was the case, but no positive conclusion can be drawn from a single document of this nature: a comparison with other lists is necessary, to determine the weight to be attached to it as an authority.

The Jains are divided into two principal divisions, Digambaras and Svetambaras; the former of which appears to have the best pretensions to antiquity, and to have been most widely

²⁴⁰ James Tod gives a somewhat different account of the origin of this tribe. Khartara, he says, means true, an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddhists or Jains, Sidraj, King of Anhalvara Pattan, on one of the branches (Gachch) in a grand religious disputation at the capital, in the eleventh century. The accounts are by no means incompatible, and my authority represents Jinesvari victorious in a controversy.

²⁴¹ Hemachandra, at the end of the Mahavira Charitra, after stating that Vajrasvami founded the Vajrasakha, which was established in the Chandra Gachcha, gives the teachers of that family down to himself, Yasobhadra, Pradyumna, Visvasena, Devachandra, and Hemachandra.

diffused²⁴². The discriminating difference is implied in these terms, the former meaning the Sky-clad, that is, naked, and the latter the white robed, the teachers being so dressed. In the present day, however, the Digambara ascetics do not go naked, but wear coloured garments; they confine the disuse of clothes to the period of their meals, throwing aside their wrapper when they receive the food given them by their disciples : the points of difference between the two sects are far from restricted to that of dress, and comprehend a list of no fewer than seven hundred, of which eighty-four are regarded as of infinite importance : a few of these may be here noticed.

The Svetambaras decorate the images of the Tirthankaras with earrings, necklaces, armlets, and tiaras of gold and jewels : the Digambaras leave their images without the foreign aid of ornament.

The Svetambaras assert that there are twelve heavens, and sixty-four Indras : the Digambaras maintain that there are sixteen heavens, and one hundred Olympian monarchs.

The Svetambaras permit their Gurus to eat out of vessels : the Digambaras receive the food in their open hands from their disciples.

The Svetambaras consider the accompaniments of the brush, waterpot, &c., as essential to the character of an ascetic : the Digambaras deny their importance.

The Svetambaras assert that the Angas, or scriptures, are the work of the immediate disciples of the Tirthankaras : the Digambaras, with more reason, maintain that the leading authorities of the Jain religion are the composition of subsequent teachers or Acharyas.

The advantage gained by the Digambaras in the last debatable matter, they lose, it is to be apprehended, in the next, when they assert that no woman can obtain Nirvana, in opposition to the more gallant doctrine of their rivals, which admits the fair sex to the enjoyment of final annihilation.

These will be sufficient specimens of the causes of disagreement that divide the Jainas into two leading branches, whose mutual animosity is, as usual, of an intensity very disproportionate to the sources from whence it springs.

242 All the Dakhini Jains appear to belong to the Digambara division. So it is said do the majority of the Jains in Western India. In the early philosophical writings of the Hindus the Jains are usually termed Digambaras, or Nagnas, naked. The term Jain rarely occurs, and Svetambara still more rarely if ever, as observed in the text; also Vardhamana, practically at least, was a Digambara.

Besides these two great divisions, several minor sects are particularised as existing amongst the Jains. They appear, however, to be of no importance, as it has been found impossible to obtain any satisfactory account of the heresies they have adopted, or of their origin and present condition. Schism was contemporary even with Mahavira, and his son-in-law, Jamali, founded a dissentient order. His follower, Gosala, was also the institutor of a sect, and an impostor into the bargain, pretending to be the twenty-fourth Tirthankara. Vajrabanda, the pupil of a very celebrated Digambara teacher, Kunda Kund Acharya, founded the Dravida sect, according to some in the fifth, and to the others, in the seventh century. Vajrasvami instituted the Mahanisitha sect, and Jinendra Suri founded the Lampaka sect, by which images were discarded. The sects now most often heard of, although little known, are the Mula Sanghis, who use brushes of peacock's feathers, wear red garments, and receive alms in their hands : the Kashta Sanghis, who make their images of wood and employ brushes of the tail of the Yak : the Terah Panthis and Bis Panthis, or followers of thirteen and of twenty, said sometimes to refer to the number of objects which are most essential to salvation, and at others, explained by a legend of the foundation of the heresy by a number of persons, such as the denomination implies. Both these are said to deny the supremacy of a Guru, to dispense with the ministration of a Brahman, and to present no perfumes, flowers, nor fruits to the images of the Tirthankaras²⁴³. The Bhishana Panthis carry their aversion to external emblems still farther, and discard the use of images altogether. The Dundiyas and Samvegis are religious orders : the former affect rigorous adherence to the moral code, but disregard all set forms of prayer or praise, and all modes of external worship : the Samvegis follow the usual practices, but subsist upon alms, accepting no more than is indispensable for present wants.

The whole of the Jains are again distinguished into clerical and lay, or into Yatis and Sravakas : the former lead a religious life, subsisting upon the alms supplied by the latter. According to the greater or less degree of sanctity to which they pretend are their seeming purity and outward precision, shown especially in their care of animal life : they carry a brush to sweep the ground before they tread upon it ; never eat nor drink in the dark, lest they should inadvertently swallow an insect, and sometimes wear a thin cloth over their mouths lest their breath should demolish some of the atomic ephemera that forlic in the sun-beam ; they wear their hair cut short, strictly they should pluck it out by the roots : they profess continence and poverty, and pretend to observe frequent fasts and exercise profound abs-

²⁴³ The Bis Panthis are said to be, in fact, the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terah Panthis are a dissenting branch.

traction. Some of them may be simple enthusiasts; many of them, however, are knaves, and the reputation which they enjoy all over India as skilful magicians is not very favourable to their general character: they are, in fact, not infrequently charlatans pretending to skill in palmistry and necromancy, dealing in empirical therapeutics, and dabbling in chemical, or rather alchemical manipulations. Some of them are less disreputably engaged in traffic, and they are often the proprietors of Maths and temples, and derive a very comfortable support from the offerings presented by the secular votaries of Jina. The Yatis, as above remarked, never officiate as priests in the temples, the ceremonies being conducted by a member of the orthodox priesthood, a Brahman, duly trained for the purpose. The Yatis are sometimes collected in Maths called by them Posalas, and even when abroad in the world, they acknowledge a sort of obedience to the head of the Posala of which they were once members.

The secular members of the Jaina religion, or Sravakas, follow the usual practices of the other Hindus, but give alms only to the Yatis, and present offerings and pay homage only to the Tirthankaras; the present worship, indeed, is almost restricted to the two last of these personages, to Parsvanath, as commonly named Parasnath, the twenty-third and to Vardhamana or Mahavira Svami, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara of the present age. The temples of these divinities are, in general, much handsomer buildings than those of the orthodox Hindus: they consist of a square or oblong room, large enough to admit a tolerably numerous assemblage, surrounded by an open portico: on one side is a sort of altar-piece of several stages; on the centre of the upper tier sits the chief deity of the temple supported by two other Arhats, whilst the rest, or a portion of them, are ranged upon the inferior tiers: the steeple is also distinguishable from that of other temples, being formed of departments, which are intended, apparently, to represent leaves, and surmounted by a pole resembling a flag-staff terminating in a gilt knob: there are several of these temples in the chief cities along the Ganges, and no fewer than a dozen in Murshidabad, to which the circumstance of the Set family being of the Jaina persuasion attracted a number of fellow worshippers. In Calcutta there are four temples, two belonging to each sect. In Bihar are the temples of Parasnath and the Padukas, or feet of Vardhamana, and Vasupujya. Banaras possesses several temples, one of which, in the suburb, called Belupura, is honoured as the birthplace of Parsvanath. The shrine comprises two temples, one belonging to the Svetambaras, and one to the Digambaras. A temple of some size and celebrity occurs at Mainpuri, in the Doab, and most of the towns in that direction present Jain spires. The chief temples,

however, are to the westward, and especially at Jaipur. The whole of Mewar and Marwar is strewn with remains of the sacred edifices of this sect.

The Jains of the South of India, as has been observed, are divided into castes : this is not the case in Upper Hindusthan, where they are all of one caste, or, which is the same thing, of none. They are nevertheless equally tenacious of similar distinctions, and not only refuse to mix with other classes, but recognise a number of orders amongst themselves, between which no intermarriages can take place, and many of whom cannot eat together. This classification is the Gachcha or Got, the family or race, which has been substituted for the Varna, the Jati, or caste. Of these Gachchas, or family divisions, they admit eighty-four²⁴⁴, and these again appear to comprehend a variety of subdivisions: some of the Gachchas comprehend a portion of Sri Vaishnavas, between which sect and the Jains in Upper India a singular alliance seems sometimes to prevail.

The condition of Jaina worship may be inferred from the above notices of its temples. Its professors are to be found in every province of Hindusthan, collected chiefly in towns, where, as merchants and bankers, they usually form a very opulent portion of the community. In Calcutta there are said to be five hundred families; but they are much more numerous at Murshidabad. In Bihar they have been estimated at between three and four hundred families. They are in some numbers in Banaras, but become more numerous ascending the Doab. It is, however, to the westward that they abound : the provinces of Mewar and Marwar being apparently the cradle of the

244 The following are the appellations of the eighty-four Gachchas:

Khandewal. Porwal. Agarwal. Jaiswal. Barihiya. Golal. Gajapurvi. Srimal. Vanswal, or Oswal. Porwar. Palliwal. Danderwal. Himmargujarati. Baramora. Kharawa. Labechu. Khandoya. Kathnora. Kabliya. Kapola. Nadila. Natila. Mothiya. Tattora. Bagerwal. Harsola. Sriguru. Jolura. Gahakhanduja. Chordiya. Bhungeriwal. Brahmata. Beduja. Bahariya. Goguwal. Andaluja. Gogayya. Mandaluja. Pancham. Somavansibogar. Chaturtha. Hardar. Dhaktha. Vaisya. Nagdhar. Por. Surendra. Kadaya. Kahari. Soniya. Sorathiya. Rajiya. Maya. Kammeha. Bhangela. Gangarda. Markeya. Motwal. Svetwal. Chakkichap. Khandarya. Narischya. Bimongai. Vikriya. Vidyavya. Bersari. Astaki. Ashtadhar. Pawarabhi. Dhakkachala. Bogosri. Naraya. Korghariya. Bamariya. Seksantanya. Anadi. Nagora. Tattora. Pakhastya. Sachhara. Jannora. Nemilara. Gandoriya. Dhawaljoti.

Some of these are well-known, but many of the others are never met with. The list was furnished by a respectable Yati—but how far it is throughout genuine, I cannot pretend to say. It omits several Gachchas of celebrity, particularly the Chandra and Khartara.

sect²⁴⁵. They are also numerous in Gujarat, in the upper part of the Malabar coast, and are scattered throughout the Peninsula. They form, in fact, a very large and, from their wealth and influence, a most important division of the population of India.

BABA LALIS

The followers of Baba Lal are sometimes included amongst the Vaishnava sects, and the classification is warranted by the outward seeming of these sectaries, who streak the forehead with Gopichandana, and profess a veneration for Rama : in reality, however, they adore but one God, dispensing with all forms of worship, and directing their devotion by rules and objects derived from a medley of Vedanta and Sufi tenets.

Baba Lal was a Kshatriya, born in Malva, about the reign of Jehangir : he early adopted a religious life under the tuition of Chetana Svami, whose fitness as a teacher had been miraculously proved. This person soliciting alms of Baba Lal received some raw grain, and wood to dress it with : lighting the wood, he confined the fire between his feet, and supported the vessel in which he boiled the grain upon his insteps. Baba Lal immediately prostrated himself before him as his Guru, and receiving from him a grain of boiled rice to eat, the system of the universe became immediately unfolded to his comprehension. He followed Chetana to Lahore, whence being dispatched to Dwaraka by his Guru, to procure some of the earth called Gopichandana, he effected his mission in less than an hour : this miraculous rapidity, the distance being some hundred miles, attesting his proficiency, he was dismissed by his Guru, in order to become a teacher. He settled at Dehanpur, near Sirhind, where he erected a Math, comprehending a handsome temple, and where he initiated a number of persons in the articles of his faith.

Amongst the individuals attracted by the doctrines of Baba Lal, was the liberal-minded and unfortunate Dara Shukoh : he summoned the sage to his presence to be instructed in his tenets, and the result of seven interviews was committed to writing, in the form of a dialogue between the Prince and the Pir, by two literary Hindus attached to the Prince's train, one Yadu Das, a Kshatriya, and the other Raichand Brahman, the latter the Mirmunshi ; the interview took place in the garden of Jaffar Khan Sadhu, in the 21st year of Shah Jehan's reign, or

²⁴⁵ According to James Tod, the Pontiff of the Kharatra Gachcha has eleven thousand clerical disciples scattered over India, and the single community of Oswal numbers one hundred thousand families. In the West of India, the officers of the state and revenue, the bankers, the civil magistrates, and the heads of corporations, are mostly Jains.—*Trans. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II, 1, p. 263.

1649 : the work is entitled *Nadir un nikat*, and is written, as the name implies, in the Persian language. Some miscellaneous extracts from it may not be unacceptable, as they may not only explain the tenets of Baba Lal, and something of the Vedanta and Sufi doctrines, but may illustrate better than any description the notions generally prevailing of the duties of a religious and mendicant life. The interrogator is the Prince, Baba Lal himself the respondent.

What is the passion of a Fakir ?—Knowledge of God.

What is the power of an Ascetic ?—Impotence.

What is Wisdom ?—Devotion of the heart to the Heart's Lord.

How are the hands of a Fakir employed ?—To cover his ears.

Where are his feet ?—Hidden, but not hampered by his garments.

What best becomes him ?—Vigilance night and day.

In what should he be unapt ?—Immoderate diet.

In what should he repose ?—In a corner, seclusion from mankind, and meditation on the only True.

What is his dwelling ?—God's creatures.

His Kingdom?—God.

What are the lights of his mansion?—The Sun and Moon.

What is his couch?—The Earth.

What is his indispensable observance?—Praise and glorification of the Cherisher of all things, and the needer of none.

What is suitable for a Fakir?—*La*, none; as *La Allah*, &c. there is no God but God.

How passes the existence of a Fakir?—Without desire, without restraint, without property.

What are the duties of a Fakir?—Poverty and faith.

Which is the best religion ?—Verse, "The Creed of the lover differs from other Creeds. God is the faith and creed of those who love him, but to do good is best for the follower of every faith." Again, as Hafiz says :

The object of all religions is alike,

All men seek their beloved,—

What is the difference between prudent and wild?

All the world is love's dwelling,

Why talk of a Mosque or Church?

With whom should the Fakir cultivate intimacy?—With the Lord of loveliness.

To whom should he be a stranger?—To covetousness, anger, envy, falsehood, and malice.

Should he wear garments or go naked?—The loins should be covered by those who are in their senses; nudity is excusable in those who are insane. The love of God does not depend upon a cap or a coat.

How should a Fakir conduct himself?—He should perform what he promises, and not promise what he cannot perform.

Should evil be done to evil doers?—The Fakir is to do evil to none, he is to consider good and ill alike, so Hafiz says : “The repose of the two worlds depends upon two rules, kindness to friends and gentleness to foes.”

What is the nature of the *Takia* (the pillow or abbacy)?—To commence with a seat upon it is improper, and at all times an erratic life is preferable; when the body is weakened by age or sickness, the Fakir may then repose upon his pillow: so situated, he should welcome every Fakir as his guest, and consider nothing but God to be his own.

It is necessary for a Fakir to withdraw from the world?—It is prudent, but not necessary : the man in society who fixes his heart on God is a Fakir, and the Fakir who takes an interest in the concerns of men is a man of the world, so Maulana Rumi observes: “What is the world? forgetfulness of God, not clothes, nor wealth, nor wife, nor offspring.”

What is the difference between nature and created things?—Some compare them to the seed and the tree. The seed and the tree are equivalent though related ; although the same in substance, they are not necessarily co-existent nor co-relative. They may be also compared to the waves and the sea ; the first cannot be without the second, but the sea may be without waves, wind is necessary to their product : so, although nature and created things are of one essence, yet the evolution of the latter from the former requires the interference of an evolving cause, or the interposition of a Creator.

Are the soul, life, and body merely shadows?—The soul is of the same nature as God, and one of the many properties of universal life, like the sea, and a drop of water; when the latter joins the former, it also is sea.

How do the Paramatma (supreme soul) and Jivatma (living soul) differ?—They do not differ, and pleasure and pain ascribable to the latter arises from its imprisonment in the body: the water of the Ganges is the same whether it run in the river’s bed or be shut up in a decanter.

What difference should that occasion?—Great : a drop of wine added to the water in the decanter will impart its flavor to the whole, but it would be lost in the river. The Paramatma, therefore, is beyond accident, but the Jivatma is afflicted by sense and passion. Water cast loosely on a fire will extinguish the fire; put that water over the fire in a boiler, and the fire will evaporise the water, so the body being the confining caldron, and passion the fire, the soul, which is compared to the water, is dispersed abroad;—the one great supreme soul is incapable of

these properties, and happiness is therefore only obtained in re-union with it, when the dispersed and individualized portions combine again with it, as the drops of water with the parent stream ; hence, although God needs not the service of his slave, yet the slave should remember that he is separated from God by the body alone, and may exclaim perpetually : Blessed be the moment when I shall lift the veil from off that face. The veil of the face of my beloved is the dust of my body.

What are the feelings of the perfect Fakir ?—They have not been, they are not to be, described, as it is said ; a person asked me what are the sensations of a lover ? I replied, when you are a lover, you will know.

PRAN NATHIS

These are also called Dhamis : they owe their origin to Pran Nath, a Kshatriya, who being versed in Mohammedan learning, as well as in his own, attempted to reconcile the two religions : with this view he composed a work called the *Mahitariyal*, in which texts from the Koran, and the Vedas are brought together, and shown not to be essentially different. Pran Nath flourished about the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign, and is said to have acquired great influence with Chattrasal, Raja of Bundelkhand, by effecting the discovery of a diamond mine. Bundelkhand is the chief seat of his followers, and in Punna is a building consecrated to the use of the sect, in one apartment of which, on a table covered with gold cloth, lies the volume of the founder.

As a test of the disciple's consent to the real identity of the essence of the Hindu and Muhammadan creeds, the ceremony of initiation consists of eating in the society of members of both communions : with this exception, and the admission of the general principle, it does not appear that the two classes confound their civil or even religious distinctions : they continue to observe the practices and ritual of their forefathers, whether Musalman or Hindu, and the union, beyond that of community of eating, is no more than any rational individual of either sect is fully prepared for, or the admission, that the God of both, and of all religions, is one and the same.

SADHS

A full account of this sect of Hindu Unitarians, by Fisher, was published in the *Missionary Intelligencer* some years ago, and some further notice of them is inserted in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*³⁴⁶, by Trant. They are distinguished from other Hindus by professing the adoration of one Creator, and by

personal and moral observances which entitled them, in their own estimation, to the appellation of Sadhs, Sadhus, Pure or Puritans.

The Sadhs are found chiefly in the upper part of the Doab, from Farukhabad to beyond Delhi. In the former they occupy a suburb called Sadhwara, and are more numerous there than in any other town; their numbers are estimated at two thousand. There are said to be some at Mirzapore, and a few more to the South; their numbers, however, are limited, and they are chiefly from the lower classes.

The sect originated in the year of Vikramaditya 1714 (A. D. 1658), according to Trant, with a person named Birbhan, who received a miraculous communication from one Udaya Das, and in consequence taught the Sadh doctrines. Fisher calls Birbhan the disciple of Jogi Das, who commanding a body of troops in the service of the Raja of Dholpur was left as slain on the field of battle, but restored to life by a stranger in the guise of a mendicant, who carried him to a mountain, taught him the tenets of the faith, and having bestowed upon him the power of working miracles sent him to disseminate his doctrines. These circumstances are rather obscurely alluded to in the original authorities consulted on the present occasion, but they agree with the above in considering Birbhan an inhabitant of Brijhasir, near Narnaul, in the province of Delhi, as the founder of the sect, at the date above mentioned. Birbhan received his knowledge from the Sat Guru, the pure teacher, also called *Uda ka Das*, the servant of the one God, and particularly described as the *Malek ka Hukm*, the order of the Creator, the personified word of God.

The doctrines taught by the super-human instructor of Birbhan were communicated in Sabdas and Sakhis, detached Hindi stanzas like those of Kabir. They are collected into manuals, and read at the religious meetings of the Sadhs : their substance is collected into a tract entitled *Adi Upades*, first precepts, in which the whole code is arranged under the following twelve Hukms, or Commandments.

1. Acknowledge but one God who made and can destroy you, to whom there is none superior, and to whom alone therefore is worship due, not to earth, nor stone, nor metal, nor wood, nor trees, nor any created thing. There is but one Lord, and the word of the Lord. He who meditates on falsehoods, practices falsehood, and commits sin, and he who commits sin falls into Hell.

2. Be modest and humble, set not your affections on the world, adhere faithfully to your creed, and avoid intercourse with all not of the same faith, eat not of a stranger's bread.

3. Never lie nor speak ill at any time to, or of any thing, of earth or water, of trees or animals. Let the tongue be employed in the praise of God. Never steal, nor wealth, nor land nor beasts, nor pasture : distinguish your own from another's property, and be content with what you possess. Never imagine evil. Let not your eyes rest on improper objects, nor men, nor women, nor dances, nor shows.

4. Listen not to evil discourse, nor to any thing but the praises of the Creator, nor to tales, nor gossip, nor calumny, nor music, nor singing, except hymns ; but then the only musical accompaniment must be in the mind.

5. Never covet any thing, either of body or wealth: take not of another. God is the giver of all things, as your trust is in him, so shall you receive.

6. When asked what you are, declare yourself a *sadh*, speak not of caste, engage not in controversy, hold firm your faith, put not your hope in men.

7. Wear white garments, use no pigments, nor collyrium, nor dentifrice, nor *Menhdi*, nor mark your person, nor your forehead with sectarian distinctions, nor wear chaplets, or rosaries, or jewels.

3. Never eat nor drink intoxicating substances, nor chew *pan*, nor smell perfumes, nor smoke tobacco, nor chew nor smell opium, hold not up your hands, bow not down your head in the presence of idols or of men.

9. Take no life away, nor offer personal violence, nor give damnable evidence, nor seize any thing by force.

10. Let a man wed one wife, and a woman one husband, let not a man eat of a woman's leavings, but a woman may of a man's, as may be the custom. Let the woman be obedient to the man.

11. Assume not the garb of a mendicant, nor solicit alms, nor accept gifts. Have no dread of necromancy, neither have recourse to it. Know before you confide. The meetings of the Pious are the only places of pilgrimage, but understand who are the Pious before you so salute them.

12. Let not a *Sadh* be superstitious as to days, or to lunations, or to months, or the cries or appearances of birds or animals; let him seek only the will of the Lord.

These injunctions are repeated in a variety of forms, but the purport is the same, and they comprise the essence of the *Sadh* doctrine which is evidently derived from the unitarianism of Kabir, Nanak, and similar writers, with a slight graft from the principles of Christianity. In their notions of the constitution of the universe, in the real, although temporary existence

of inferior deities and their incarnations, and in the ultimate object of all devotion, liberation from life on earth, or Mukti, the Sadhs do not differ from other Hindus.

The Sadhs have no temples, but assemble at stated periods in houses, or courts adjoining set apart for this purpose. According to Fisher, their meetings are held every full moon, when men and women collect at an early hour, all bringing such food as they are able, the day is spent in miscellaneous conversation, or in the discussion of matters of common interest. In the evening they eat and drink together, and the night is passed in the recitation of the stanzas attributed to Birbhan, or his preceptor, and the poems of Dadu, Nanak, or Kabir.

From the term they apply to the deity, Satnam, the true name, the Sadhs are also called Satnamis ; but this appellation more especially indicates a different, although kindred, sect.

SATNAMIS

These profess to adore the true name alone, the one God, the cause and creator of all things, Nirgun, or void of sensible qualities, without beginning or end.

They borrow, however, their notions of creation from the Vedanta philosophy, or rather from the modified form in which it is adapted to vulgar apprehension. Worldly existence is illusion, or the work of Maya, the primitive character of Bhavani, the consort of Siva. They recognise accordingly the whole Hindu Pantheon—and, although they profess to worship but one God, pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of his nature visible in the Avatars, particularly Rama and Krishna.

Unlike the Sadhs also, they use distinctive marks, and wear a double string of silk bound round the right wrist. Frontal lines are not invariably employed, but some make a perpendicular streak with ashes of a burnt offering made to Hanuman.

Their moral code is something like that of all Hindu quietists, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures or its pains, implicit devotion to the spiritual guide, clemency and gentleness, rigid adherence to truth, the discharge of all ordinary, social, or religious obligations, and the hope of final absorption into the one spirit which pervades all things.

There is little or no difference therefore in essentials between the Satnamis and some of the Vaishnava unitarians, but they regard themselves as a separate body, and have their own founder Jagjivan Das. He was a Kshatriya by birth, and continued in the state of Grihastha, or house-holder, through life : he was a native of Oudh, and his Samadhi, or shrine, is shown at Katwa, a place between Lucknow and Ajudhya.

He wrote several tracts, as the *Jnan Prakas*, *Mahapralaya*, and *Prathama Grantha*: they are in Hindi couplets; the first is dated in Samvat 1817, or A. D. 1761, the last is in the form of a dialogue between Siva and Parvati. The following is from the *Mahapralaya*.

“The pure man lives amidst all, but away from all: his affections are engaged by nothing: what he may know he knows, but he makes no enquiry: he neither goes nor comes, neither learns nor teaches, neither cries nor sighs, but discusses himself. There is neither pleasure nor pain, neither clemency nor wrath, neither fool nor sage to him. Jagjivandas asks, does any one know a man so exempt from infirmity who lives apart from mankind and indulges not in idle speech?”

SIVA NARAYANIS

This is another sect professing the worship of one God, of whom no attributes are predicated. Their unitarianism is more unqualified than that of either of the preceding, as they offer no worship, pay no regard whatever to any of the objects of Hindu or Muhammadan veneration. They also differ from all in admitting proselytes alike from Hindus or Muhammadans, and the sect comprises even professed Christians from the lower classes of the mixed population.

Admission into the sect is not a matter of much ceremony, and a Guru, or spiritual guide, is not requisite; a few Siva Narayanis assemble at the requisition of a novice, place one of their text books in the midst of them, on which betel and sweetmeats have previously been arranged. After a while these are distributed amongst the party, a few passages are read from the book, and the sect has acquired a new member.

Truth, temperance, and mercy are the cardinal virtues of this sect, as well as of the Sadhs; polygamy is prohibited, and sectarian marks are not used: conformity to the external observances of the Hindus or Muhammadans, independently of religious rites, is recommended, but latitude of practice is not unfrequent; and the Siva Narayanis, of the lower orders, are occasionally addicted to strong potations.

The sect derives its appellation from that of its founder Sivanarayan, a Rajput, of the Nerivana tribe, a native of Chandavan, a village near Ghazipur: he flourished in the reign of Mohammed Shah, and one of his works is dated Samvat, 1791. or A. D. 1735. He was a voluminous writer in the inculcation of his doctrines, and eleven books, in Hindi verse, are ascribed to him. They are entitled: *Lao* or *Lava Granth*, *Santvilas*, *Vajan Granth*, *Santsundara*, *Gurunyas*, *Santachari*, *Santopadesa*, *Sabdavali*, *Santparvana*, *Santmahima*, *Santsagar*.

There is also a twelfth, the Seal of the whole, but it has not yet been divulged, remaining in the exclusive charge of the head of the sect. This person resides at Balsande, in the Ghazipur district, where there is a college and an establishment.

The Sivanarayanis are mostly Rajputs, and many are Sipahis : many of the up-country bearers also belong to the sect. The members are said to be numerous about Ghazipur, and some are to be met with in Calcutta.

SUNYAVADIS

The last sect which it has been proposed to be noticed is one of which the doctrines are atheistical. There is no novelty in this creed, as it was that of the Charvakas and Nastikas, and is, to a great extent, that of the Buddhists and Jains ; but an attempt has been recently made to give it a more comprehensive and universal character, and to bring it within the reach of popular attraction.

A distinguished Patron of the Sunyavadis was Dayaram, the Raja of Hatras, when that fortress was destroyed by the Marquis of Hastings. Under his encouragement a work in Hindi verse was composed by Bakhtavar, a religious mendicant, entitled the Sunisar, the essence of emptiness, the purport of which is to show that all notions of man and God are fallacies, and that nothing is. A few passages from this book will convey an idea of the tenets of the sect.

“Whatever I behold is Vacuity. Theism and Atheism—Maya and Brahma—all is false, all is error ; the globe itself, and the egg of Brahma, the seven Dwipas and nine Khandas, heaven and earth, the sun and moon, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, Kurma and Sesha, the Guru and his pupil, the individual and the species, the temple and the god, the observance of ceremonial rites, and the muttering of prayers, all is emptiness. Speech, hearing and discussion are emptiness, and substance itself is no more.”

“Let every one meditate upon himself, nor make known his self-communion to another ; let him be the worshipper and the worship, nor talk of a difference between this and that ; look into yourself and not into another, for in yourself that other will be found. There is no other but myself, and I talk of another from ignorance. In the same way as I see my face in a glass I see myself in others ; but it is error to think that what I see is not my face, but that of another—whatever you see is but yourself, and father and mother are non-entities ; you are the infant and the old man, the wise man and the fool, the male and the female : it is you who are drowned in the stream, you who pass over, you are the killer, and the slain, the slayer and

the eater, you are the king and the subject. You seize yourself and let go, you sleep, and you wake, you dance for yourself and sing for yourself. You are the sensualist and the ascetic, the sick man and the strong. In short, whatever you see, that is you, bubbles, surf, and billows are all but water."

"When we are visited in sleep by visions, we think in our sleep that those visions are realities—we wake, and find them falsehoods, and they leave not a wreck behind. One man in his sleep receives some information, and he goes and tells it to his neighbour : from such idle narrations what benefit is obtained? what will be left to us when we have been winnowing chaff?"

"I meditate upon the *Suni* Doctrine alone, and know neither virtue nor vice—many have been the princes of the earth, and nothing did they bring and nothing took they away; the good name of the liberal survived him, and disrepute covered the niggard with its shadow. So let men speak good words, that none may speak ill of them afterwards. Take during the few days of your life what the world offers you. Enjoy your own share, and give some of it to others: without liberality, who shall acquire reputation? Give ever after your means, such is the established rule. To some give money, to some respect, to some kind words, and to some delight. Do good to all the world, that all the world may speak good of you. Praise the name of the liberal when you rise in the morning, and throw dust upon the name of the niggard. Evil and good are attributes of the body ; you have the choice of two sweetmeats in your hands. Karna was a giver of gold, and Janaka as liberal as wise. Sivi, Harischandra, Dadhichi, and many others, have acquired by their bounty fame throughout the world."

"Many now are, many have been, and many will be—the world is never empty ; like leaves upon the trees, new ones blossom as the old decay. Fix not your heart upon a withered leaf, but seek the shade of the green foliage : a horse of a thousand rupees is good for nothing when dead, but a leaving tattoo will carry you along the road. Have no hope in the man that is dead, trust but in him that is living. He that is dead will be alive no more: a truth that all men do not know; of all those that have died, has any business brought any one back again, or has any one brought back tidings of the rest ? A rent garment cannot be spun anew, a broken pot cannot be pieced again. A living man has nothing to do with heaven and hell, but when the body has become dust, what is the difference between a Jackass and a dead Saint?"

Earth, water, fire, and wind blended together constitute the body—of these four elements the world is composed, and there is nothing else. This is Brahma, this is a pismire, all consists of

these elements, and proceeds from them through separate receptacles."

"Beings are born from the womb, the egg, the germ, and vapour."

"Hindus and Musalmans are of the same nature, two leaves of one tree—these call their teachers Mullas, those term them Pandits ; two pitchers of one clay : one performs Namaz, the other offers Puja : where is the difference? I know of no dissimilarity—they are both followers of the doctrine of Duality—they have the same bone, the same flesh, the same blood, and the same marrow. One cuts off the foreskin, the other puts on a sacrificial thread. Ask of them the difference, enquire the importance of these distinctions, and they will quarrel with you : dispute not, but know them to be the same ; avoid all idle wrangling and strife, and adhere to the truth, the doctrine of Dayaram."

"I fear not to declare the truth ; I know no difference between a subject and a king ; I want neither homage nor respect, and hold no communion with any but the good : what I can obtain with facility that will I desire, but a palace or a thicket are to me the same—the error of *mine* and *thine* have I cast away, and know nothing of loss or gain. When a man can meet with a preceptor to teach him these truths, he will destroy the errors of a million of births. Such a teacher is now in the world, and such a one is Dayaram."

The survey that has thus been taken of the actual state of the Hindu religion will show, that its internal constitution has not been exempt from those varieties, to which all human systems of belief are subject, and that it has undergone great and frequent modifications, until it presents an appearance which, there is great reason to suppose, is very different from that which it originally wore.

The precise character of the primitive Hindu system will only be justly appreciated, when a considerable portion of the ritual of the Vedas shall have been translated, but some notion of their contents and purport may be formed from Colebrooke's account of them²⁴⁷, as well as from his description of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus²⁴⁸. It is also probable that the Institutes of Manu, in a great measure, harmonise with the Vaidik Code.

From these sources then it would seem, that some of the original rites are still preserved in the Homa, or fire offerings, and in such of the Sanskaras, or purificatory ceremonies, as are

²⁴⁷ *Asiatic Researches* Vol. VIII. [Essays, p. 1-69.]

²⁴⁸ *Asiatic Researches* Vol. VII. [Essays, p. 76-142.]

observed at the periods of birth, tonsure, investiture, marriage and cremation. Even in these ceremonies, however, formulae borrowed from the Tantras assume the place of the genuine texts, whilst on many occasions the observances of the Vedas are wholly neglected. Nor is this inconsistent with the original system, which was devised for certain recognised classes into which the Hindu community was then divided, and of which three out of four parts no longer exist—the Hindus being now distinguished into Brahmans and mixed castes alone—and the former having almost universally deviated from the duties and habits to which they were originally devoted. Neither of these classes, therefore, can with propriety make use of the Vaidik ritual, and their manual of devotion must be taken from some other source.

How far the preference of any individual Divinity as an especial object of veneration is authorised by the Vedas, remains yet to be determined ; but there is no reason to doubt that most of the forms to which homage is now paid are of modern canonization. At any rate such is the highest antiquity of the most celebrated Teachers and Founders of the popular sects ; and Basava in the Dekhan, Vallabha Svami in Hindusthan, and Chaitanya in Bengal, claim to earlier a date than the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.

Consistent with the introduction of new objects of devotion is the elevation of new races of individuals to the respect or reverence of the populace as their ministers and representatives. The Brahmans retain, it is true, a traditional sanctity ; and when they cultivate pursuits suited to their character, as the law and literature of their sacred language, they receive occasional marks of attention, and periodical donations from the most opulent of their countrymen. But a very mistaken notion prevails generally amongst Europeans of the position of the Brahmans in Hindu society, founded on the terms in which they are spoken of by Manu, and the application of the expression 'Priesthood' to the Brahmanical Order by Sir William Jones. In the strict sense of the phrase it never was applicable to the Brahmans ; for although some amongst them acted in ancient times as family priests, and conducted the fixed or occasional ceremonials of household worship, yet even Manu²⁴⁹ holds the Brahman, who ministers to an idol, infamous during life, and condemned to the infernal regions after death, and the Sanskrit language abounds with synonyms for the priest of a temple, significant of his degraded condition both in this world and the next. Ministerant Priests in temples, therefore, the Brahmans, collectively speaking, never were—and although many amongst them act in that capacity, it is no more their appropriate pro-

vince than any other lucrative occupation. In the present day, however, they have ceased to be in a great measure the ghostly advisers of the people, either individually or in their households. This office is now filled by various persons, who pretend to superior sanctity, as Gossains, Vairagis, and Sannyasis. Many of these are Brahmans, but they are not necessarily so, and it is not as Brahmans that they receive the veneration of their lay followers. They derive it, as we have seen, from individual repute, or more frequently from their descent from the founder of some particular division, as is the case with the Gokulastha Gossains and the Gosvamis of Bengal. The Brahmans as a caste exercise little real influence on the minds of the Hindus beyond what they obtain from their numbers, affluence and rank. As a hierarchy they are null, and as a literary body they are few, and meet with but slender countenance from their countrymen or their foreign rulers. That they are still of great importance in the social system of British India, is unquestionable, but it is not as a priesthood. They bear a very large proportion to all the other tribes; they are of more respectable birth, and in general of better education; a prescriptive reverence for the order improves these advantages, and Brahmans are accordingly numerous amongst the most affluent and distinguished members of every Hindu state. It is only, however, as far as they are identified with the Gurus of the popular sects, that they can be said to hold any other than secular consideration.

Aware apparently of the inequality upon which those Gurus contended with the long established claims of the Brahmanical tribe, the new teachers of the people took care to invest themselves with still higher pretensions. The Acharya or Guru of the three first classes is no doubt described by Manu²⁵⁰ as entitled to the most profound respect from his pupil during pupilage, but the Guru of the present day exacts implicit devotion from his disciples during life²⁵¹. It is unnecessary here to repeat what there has been previous occasion to notice with respect to the extravagant obedience to be paid by some sectarians to the Guru, whose favour is declared to be of much more importance than that of the God whom he represents.

Another peculiarity in the modern systems which has been adverted to in the preceding pages is the paramount value of Bhakti—faith—implicit reliance on the favour of the Deity worshipped. This is a substitute for all religious or moral

250 [II, 192 ff.]

251 [Many passages from modern Tantras, such as the *Rudra Yamala*, *Gupta Sadhana Tantra*, *Vrihan Nila Tantra*, and others, are quoted in the *Pranatoshani*, fol. 49-55.]

acts, and an expiation for every crime. Now, in the Vedas, two branches are distinctly marked, the practical and the speculative. The former consists of prayers and rules for oblations to any or all of the gods—but especially to Indra and Agni, the rulers of the firmament and of fire, for positive worldly goods, health, posterity and affluence. The latter is the investigation of matter and spirit, leading to detachment from worldly feelings and interests, and final liberation from bodily existence. The first is intended for the bulk of mankind, the second for philosophers and ascetics. There is not a word of faith, of implicit belief or passionate devotion in all this, and they seem to have been as little essential to the primitive Hindu worship as they were to the religious systems of Greece and Rome. Bhakti is an invention, and apparently a modern one²⁵², of the Institutors of the existing sects, intended, like that of the mystical holiness of the Guru, to extend their own authority....

Notwithstanding the provisions with which the sectarian Gurus fortified themselves, it is clear that they were never able to enlist the whole of Hinduism under their banners, or to suppress all doubt and disbelief. It has been shown in the introductory pages of this work, that great latitude of speculation has always been allowed amongst the Brahmans themselves, and it will have been seen from the notices of different sects, that scepticism is not unfrequent amongst the less privileged orders. The tendency of many widely diffused divisions is decidedly monotheistical, and we have seen that both in ancient and modern times attempts have been made to inculcate the doctrines of utter unbelief. It is not likely that these will ever extensively spread, but there can be little doubt that with the diffusion of education independent enquiry into the merits of the prevailing systems and their professors will become more universal, and be better directed. The germ is native to the soil : it has been kept alive for ages under the most unfavourable circumstances, and has been apparently more vigorous than ever during the last century. It only now requires prudent and patient fostering to grow into a stately tree, and yield goodly fruit.

²⁵² [See, however, Burnouf, *Bhag. Pur.* I, p. CXI. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 1096 ff.]

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